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REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 14th November 1908.

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I.—Foreign Politics.

Referring to the determination of the Indian Muhammadans to boycott Austrian goods by reason of Austria's usurpation of Bosnia, originally under the suzerainty of the Sultan, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October observes, that if the Muhammadans were to stick to their determination, they would teach the Austrians a lesson. The disgrace of the Muhammadans, continues the paper, has been shared by all the people of this country, and they will have the entire support of the Hindus in their resolution.

Hitvarta, Oct. 29th, 1908.

Proposed boycott of Austria goods by the Indian Muhammadans.

2. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 6th November exhorts Indian Musalmans to boycott all Austrian goods, specially the Austrian fez and enamelled wares, on the ground that Austria has insulted the Sultan of Turkey.

Mihir-o-Sudhakar, Nov. 6th, 1908.

Boycott of Austrian goods by the Muhammadans.

3. Referring to the vow taken by the Musalmans of Burdwan, who met in the local Town Hall on the day of the *Id* festival, to boycott European goods, especially those made in Austria and Germany, if Austria encroached upon the territories of Turkey, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes :—

Basumati, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Musalmans and the boycott.

Men who refused to boycott English goods when Bengal was partitioned, are now eager to boycott European goods if Turkey is partitioned. England is not outside Europe, and Turkey has after all been partitioned. Austria also is not likely to give back what it has taken. Will now the Musalmans of Bengal, or rather of India, boycott *bilati* cloths, sugar, salt, etc. ? What have the Musalman leaders to say to this?

4. Referring to the Balkan crisis, the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 6th November has the following :—

Mihir-o-Sudhakar, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The Balkan crisis.

On a close examination of the incidents, we are led to the conclusion that a gigantic conspiracy is going on against the Ottoman Empire among the European Powers, and that they are all intent upon the ruin of Turkey. There is no doubt that Musalmans all over the world, including those in India, are very much keen about the matter. But they have some consolation in the friendly attitude and sympathy of the British Government. But the statements of Sir Edward Grey, when read between the lines, seem to indicate that he is somewhat ill-disposed towards Turkey. If the European Powers combine and try to throw obstacles in the way of Turkey's progress, then the world will witness a horrible loss ef lives.

We, on our part, find no prospect of good coming out of the Balkan crisis. The Turks, of course, place implicit reliance on British friendship, and it is for this, probably, that they are surveying the situation calmly.

Though it is impossible to gauge the real intention of the European Powers from Reuter's messages, yet it seems on the whole clear that they are bent upon the destruction of the Turkish Empire. If everything takes place according to the programme of the Powers, then where will the Turkish Empire be? We hope that in this mysterious affair the British will so act as to safeguard their own interests. The wise British Government can well anticipate what will turn out in future. But we are not at all anxious, seeing that Great Britain is the friend of Turkey.

5. Referring to the oppression of the Indians in South Africa and the difficulty of the Home Government to set the matter right as appears from what Lord Crewe said in the Parliament the other day, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October asks :—

Hitvarta, Oct. 29th, 1908.

The oppression of the Indians in the Transvaal.

Cannot the Indian Government force the Transvaal Government to yield by threatening to lay heavy import duties on the Transvaal goods?

6. The *Hitavarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November in describing the oppression committed on the Indians in South Africa by such acts as parading leaders like Mr. Gandhi through the streets in prisoner's garb, says that this alone is sufficient to expose the English policy of equality, etc.

Hitvarta, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Oppression of the Indians in the Transvaal.

NAMAI MUQADDAS HABLUL MATIN, Nov. 2nd, 1908.

7. The *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 2nd November comments at length on what it calls the perfidious conduct of the so-called Ulamas (*i.e.*, religious priests) belonging to the re-actionary party who in giving a religious sanction to the anti-constitutional form of Government and in justifying the atrocious conduct of the Shah have, in its opinion, only displayed their own selfish and diabolical ends. The paper concludes the article with the following address to the Persians :—

Selfish Ulamas justifying the anti-constitution.

"Persians, and honest men of our religion! A handful of men have conspired under the false pretext of religion to destroy your rights which have been gained through the Constitution at the cost of innumerable lives."

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*)—*Police.*

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, Nov. 4th, 1908.

8. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 4th November says, that the authorities must have discovered by this time that the Bengali agitators did not incite the illiterate cultivators of Bihar. The fact is that the change of spirit has affected all classes of people in the country. The new national awakening has powerfully moved all people. *Zaberdust* measures will not put an end to the troubles.

The indigo disturbances in Bettiah.

HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

9. A correspondent of the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November, superscribing himself as an unfortunate cultivator describes the anarchy prevailing in some of the villages of the Champaran district on account of the oppression of the indigo planters on the raiyats, and reports of an outrage committed on two unmarried Brahmin girls. The writer prays for an independent inquiry, and asks the Indian Press to send their reporters to those villages, as he says: "We possess no voice and are being ground down. Will no one help us? Will not the National Congress take up this question at its next sitting? Will not the Viceroy consider the grievances of His Majesty's subjects on this occasion of of the 50th anniversary of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown?"

Anarchy in Champaran.

SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 19 .

10. Referring to the recent indigo disturbances in Bihar, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes :—

The Bihar Indigo disturbances.

The indigo planter is all powerful in Bihar. The indigo planters have taken possession of many villages from zamindars on the *ijara* system, and some of them are compelling the raiyats to sow indige and sugar-cane. But the prices given are not what prevail in the market, but what please the indigo planters. Immediate redress ought to be granted, otherwise indigo riots such as prevailed in Bengal will break ont in Bihar. So long as the raiyat was ignorant, everything was tolerated. But now the Bihari raiyats too have grown smart. Why, then, shall they tolerate injustice?

SAMAY, Nov. 6th, 1908.

11. The *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 6th November gives a detailed account of the indige disturbances in Bettiah and concludes as follows :—

The indigo disturbances in Bettiah.

Signs are not wanting which go to show that indigo disturbances such as once prevailed in the districts of Jessore and Nadia may take place also in Bettiah. If the authorities do not take remedial measures in time, matters may assume serious proportions.

HINDUSTHAN, Nov. 7th, 1908.

12. Referring to the indigo disturbances in Bettiah, the *Hindusthan* [Calcutta of the 7th November says, that such people as think that the cultivators have caught the infection of the seditious agitation and have been instigated by the revolutionists are thoroughly mistaken. It is only the general awakening of the people of the country to a sense of their rights and privileges which has been working among the cultivators of Bettiah. It is hoped that the authorities will realise this and desist from commiting any *zulum* on them.

Ibid.

13. The readers of the drama "Nildarpan," writes the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 7th November, know very well how the innocent raiyats of Bengal used to be oppressed and persecuted by indigo planters in the old times. The relations between certain indigo planters in Champaran and their raiyats have of late become very strained. The planters ordered their raiyats to grow indigo and sugar, which the latter have in a body refused to do, as they do not find such cultivation paying. The planters are trying coercion in order to compel the raiyats to obey them, and the local officials have taken the side of the planters. Oppression of the raiyats has already begun, and punitive military police forces have been quartered on the plea of the preservation of peace. The raiyats have sent in a petition to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and in the meantime one of the signatories to the petition has been hauled up by the police on a charge of breach of the peace. The authorities have issued a notice to certain persons forbidding them to take part in any meetings. We have also heard that the Subdivisional Officer of Bettial has issued a warrant against about two hundred leading raiyats for no other offence than of refusing to grow indigo and sugar on the terms dictated by the planters. Some of the planters' men have beaten a woman to death. The united oppression of planters and officials have driven the raiyats of 35 villages mad. We invite the Lieutenant-Governor's kind attention to the matter.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Alleged friction between indigo planters and raiyats.

14. Referring to the same subject, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 7th November says:—One is surprised to see the simple, voiceless, the ever-suffering raiyats of Bihar pledging themselves not to sow indigo on any account. Memorials have been sent to the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal complaining against the collusion of local officials with the indigo planters in forcing them to sow indigo or sugar on very unfavourable terms; but in the face of these complaints we find from the official Gazette that a punitive police is going to be posted in some of the villages; besides, warrants have been issued for the arrest of over 200 men. We are at a loss to come to a decision because of this conflicting procedure on the part of Government and the villagers in Champaram. Everyone insists upon a sifting enquiry into the state of things.

BHARAT MITRA, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Anarchy in Champaran.

15. Referring to the telegram which has been sent to the Lieutenant-Governor by certain villagers in the Bettiah Subdivision, some of whom are now in the Muzafferpur Hospital being wounded by the men of the indigo factories, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th November says:—

His Honour has not yet sent any reply to the telegram. No arrangement appears to have been made as yet to make an impartial enquiry into the circumstances.

DAILY HITAVADI, Nov. 8th, 1908.

Indigo disturbances in the Bettiah Subdivision.

16. Referring to the report that an oil-painting sent from Germany representing Chittaranjan Guha in a tank, bleeding from the blows of police constables and the image of the goddess Kali in the sky, has been sent back to that country by the Custom House authorities under orders from the Commissioner of Police, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes:—Why do the rulers see spectres all round? Is it a good sign to be startled at everything?

SANJIBANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

"Why so much fear?"

17. Referring to the return of a picture recently received from Germany by order of the Commissioner of Police, on the ground that it was a seditious picture, the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 6th November writes:—

It is clear that the minds of the officials are not in a sound condition. It is curious that such a trifling matter should have unhinged the minds of high officials.

SAMAY, Nov. 6th, 1908.

A seditious picture and Government officials.

18. Referring to the proposed census of fire-arms in certain districts in Eastern Bengal and Assam, the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says, that the thing is quite unnecessary, as the number of licensed fire-arms in every district can be easily learnt from the list which already exists. Such a census will certainly cause great oppression among the people. Did the

SAMAY, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The proposed census of fire-arms in Eastern Bengal.

Lieutenant-Governor of the New Province take note of these things before issuing the notice?

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, Nov. 6th, 1908.

Hindu-Musalman riot in the Howrah District.

19. The following is a full translation of a communication published in the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 6th November:—

Hindu-Musalman riot on the Bijaya day in Howrah.

There is a masjid of the Musalmans at Bagri, in Howrah. On the day of the immersion ceremony the Hindus carried their idol by the musjid and disturbed the *nemaz* of the Moslems by their music. The Musalmans brought this fact to the notice of the Hindu leaders, and requested them to see that the Hindus did not disturb the *nemaz* by their music. But the Hindus not only paid no heed to their request, but after this began to sound their musical instruments as if from *zid* for a long time near the musjid. When afterwards the Musalmans sought the protection of the Court, an order was passed to the effect that the Hindus must stop their music within 100 yards of the musjid and then pass on. This order has been in force for some years. From time to time Hindus disobeyed the order and passed near the musjid with music. Then the Musalmans used to seek the protection of the Court, and the same order was again put in force for some years. For this reason bad blood has been created between the Hindus and Musalmans, and they have been estranged from each other. There are two musjids in that village. Misunderstanding has been thus going on in connection with the two musjids, and the aforesaid order has been promulgated. The local Hindus have been conspiring and holding consultations as to how the Musalmans can be put down. On the day of the last Bijaya the Hindus wanted to disobey the order and passed by the musjid with music at the time of the *nemaz*. One or two Musalmans forbade this. One Hindu Sub-Inspector, four constables, some chaukidars and many Hindus were present there. The Sub-Inspector Babu was highly incensed at hearing the objection of the above-named Musalman, abused and scolded the Musalmans, and ordered the Hindus to pass on with music. On receiving the order of the police, Hindus got excited and proceeded with their music, and some Hindus availed themselves of this opportunity and attacked the Musalmans. The Musalmans fled towards the musjid for fear of the police and of rioting. The Hindu Police stood by and kept looking at the *tamasha* while the excited Hindus entered the musjid and beat several Musalmans. They broke the door of the musjid and committed nuisance therein. The police did not arrest a single Hindu. After holding consultation with the Hindus, the police challaned the Musalmans after three days as accused in the case. The police say that the Hindus are innocent, that they did not sound their musical instruments, but in compliance with the Court's order stopped their music and passed by the musjid silently. When the Hindus were returning, the Musalmans attacked them.

Maulvi Oahed Hossain, Vakil, High Court, conducted the case in favour of the Musalmans. Except a solitary mukhtear, not a single pleader or mukhtear of Howrah agreed to submit a petition on behalf of the Musalmans or to come over to their side. Hindu pleaders, mukhtears, zamindars and presidents of panchayats are conspiring with the police and are determined to put down the Musalmans. The Musalmans have filed cases against the police and some Hindus; but the cases having fallen into the hands of a Hindu Deputy Babu, no enquiry has been held. He has ordered that the cases instituted by the Musalmans will be taken up after the cases sent up by the police have been first disposed of. In the meantime the Hindus made another petition asking that the hours at which *nemaz* is held in the musjid should be fixed, so that the music may be stopped at those hours only, but that the Musalmans should not be permitted to object to the music at the time when the idol is carried by the musjid. On the day when cause was to be shown as aforesaid, Maulvi Oahed Hossain argued as follows in favour of the Musalmans:—"From sunrise till noon *nemaz* is rarely held in the musjid. After that hour Johar, Asar, Magrah and Esher *nemaz* is held. During this time there are fixed periods for *nemaz*; but no time can be fixed for any particular individual; that is to say, there is no certainty as to when particular persons may say their prayers (*nemaz*); and hence no time can be fixed for holding *nemaz* in musjids." When on that day

the case was called on for hearing, the defendant not being present, the first order remained in force. The Musalmans have won, but the Hindus have been greatly enraged with the Musalmans at this. Perceiving this conspiracy of the Hindus, the Vakil Saheb submitted a petition to the District Magistrate praying that the case might be tried by a European Magistrate. But the Magistrate regretted that the case could not be transferred elsewhere, as the Joint-Magistrate was away on leave and no other officer could be had. He further said that a second petition might be made in case the Joint-Magistrate arrived in the meantime.

The question now is, how is it that no enquiry was held into the complaint of the Musalmans? Why was the case filed by the Hindus disposed of first? Why could not the two cases be tried together? We request that the Commissioner, the Lieutenant-Governor and the District Magistrate will be pleased to hold an independent enquiry into the matter.

The editor of the paper adds the following note :—

We have been further informed that the Hindu Police are helping the opposite party against the Musalmans. It has become imperatively necessary to appoint a Musalman Daroga in the Dumjore Thana. Will the authorities of the Police Department listen to this?

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The Baira riot case.

20. Referring to the Baira riot case, the *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says:—

The police have reported that at the time of the riot only Mr. DeMonte had fire-arms with him, but still it must be said that the wounded men were not wounded by shots from his gun. As for not sending the men to hospital, the Magistrate has said that it would have been useless. In short, the police have done nothing to Mr. DeMonte, while the poor villagers are living in constant dread of them. The villager Annada, who was wounded, has complained against Mr. DeMonte. The deceased trader's wife also has done the same. But these cases have not yet even been enquired into. The attention of Sir Charles Bayley is drawn to the matter.

SANDHYA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The police and Proclamation procession at Rajshahi.

21. Referring to the delay in obtaining permission for the procession which the people of Rajshahi proposed to get up on the Proclamation Day, and the consequent abandonment of the proposal, the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says, that no matter whether one is loyal or seditious, the bonds are tightened equally in both cases.

DAILY HITAVADI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The case of Pulin Babu of Dacca.

22. In announcing how Pulin Babu, the proprietor of the *Samiti* Students' Boarding-house at Dacca, was promptly arrested by the police as soon as a charge of wrongful confinement was lodged against him, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes :—

This is well and good. But why are not Missionaries placed under arrest with equal promptitude when accused of kidnapping girls?

SANDHYA, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Sir Andrew Fraser's personal safety.

23. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes :—

May the few days left of Sir Andrew Fraser's tenure of office in the country pass without any mishap to him. We shall breathe a sigh of relief when he embarks on board. At present when visiting the Indian quarter of the metropolis, His Honour has to surround himself with police escort, who deal roughly with pedestrians and cart and carriage drivers, who again, in response, hurl forth abuse directed against His Honour. When Sir John Woodburn was Lieutenant-Governor, he used to go to all parts of the city on horse-back. Sir A. Mackenzie also similarly used to go about on a tum-tum. When Sir Edwerd Baker is in office, we shall show him over the town afoot. Sir Andrew Fraser has shown a great deal of *keramat* (skill) during his term of office in Bengal.

SANDHYA, Nov. 9th, 1908.

The attempt on Sir Audrew Fraser's life.

24. Referring to the recent attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, the *Sanhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th November says:—

By God's grace the attempt has failed and His Honour has escaped unscathed. We take this opportunity to say one thing:—Whatever we may be, Extremist or Moderate, we know the teachings of India's eternal *Shastras* and we understand the Bengali-Hindu Society. Our *Shastras*, our society, our religion

and our indigenous manliness hates and abhors secret murder. The secret murderer has no expiation of his sin; in society he is looked down upon as an *atatayi* (a malefactor of the wonst type, such as an incendiary, a poisoner, etc.,). Religious merit cannot be earned through sin. The society can in no way be benefited by a vile murderer.

We little men are slaves of destiny. There is only one way in which we can use our personal efforts, and that is to dedicate everything to Sri Krishna (god). We can fashion our work according to the dictates of the *Shastras*, we can create no in dependent work for giving us new fruits, for all efforts on our part in that direction are sure to fail. In fact, we believe that behind such attempts at murder there is an inordinate vanity. That vanity arises out of sin and its consequences also must be sinful. Our present miserable condition is due to our sins committed in previous lives and the sins of our forefathers. It is at present inevitable and uncontrollable. It cannot be improved by the help of sin. Seek, if you can, the help of Him who can make the impossible possible. Walk in the path prescribed by Him, and all your sorrows will vanish like mist in the morning sun. This, we think, is the teaching of our *Shastras*, the teaching of the Gita. We, therefore, consider such attempts at murder made in a light spirit as enormously sinful. There is no consideration of good or bad in sins, there is no fitness in sinful acts—a sin is always a sin and always hateful in a gentle society.

We congratulate His Honour on his escaps from the murderer's hand. We also congratulate ourselves that the Bengali quarter of the city has been spared a useless murder. We pray to God that our society and our country may soon be purged of all such sins. May our hearts sicken at them.

DAILY HITAVADI, Nov. 10th, 1908.

The recent attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life.

25. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th November is really astounded at the terrible news of the recent attempt on the Lieutenant-Governor's life. The paper distinctly declares that attempts like this have absolutely no sympathy of the public at large, and are the work of only half-a-dozen young men of perverted brains. Indeed the way His Honour was cheered at the meeting at Overtoun Hall is itself an indication that the people of the country have no sympathy with terribly sinful acts like this. The paper in concluding prays that His Honour may return safe and sound to his native land and pass the rest of his days in happiness.

SANDHYA, Nov. 9th, 1908.

The murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banerjee.

26. Referring to the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banerjee, the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th November says:—

We strongly protest against such homicide and Brahminicide. The expiation for such a sin ought to be very servere; and we can have nothing to say if Government adopts very hard measures for suppressing it. No religious merit can be earned through sin. The country can in no way be benefited by secret murders. Secret murderers are enemies of the country and society. We do not know why the murderers are not yet being traced. The murder of Nanda Lal Banerjee, coming just after the attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, makes the situation very puzzling, and no opinion can be hazarded on it before the police has concluded its investigation.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

HITVARTA, Oct. 29th, 1908.

A European's immunity in murder cases.

27. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October compares the capital punishment of Karim Khan for the murder of Miss Hooper with the imprisonment to which Fireman Davis has been sentenced, and the discharge of Corporal Cullen and Mr. William, the Engineer of Nasick, on a charge of murder of a native, in order to show the immunity which a European offender enjoys in this country.

HITVARTA, Oct. 29th, 1908.

Satyendra Nath Bose and his sentence of death.

28. Referring to the sentence of death passed by the High Court on Satyendra Nath Bose, an accused in the Alipore Jail murder case, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October doubts the justice of the sentence, and remarks:—

The sentence has caused pain to both the young and the old. Satyendra Nath Bose could not have been reasonably charged for abetment of murder, in

consideration of the fact that Kanai Lal Dutt was charged both with murder as well as abetment of murder. It looks quite strange that the High Court also should have held the same view as the Sessions Court in finding Satyendra guilty.

Satyendra Nath Bose had applied to the Magistrate for holding the trial outside the jail; but when his prayer was refused, he thought it prudent to say nothing in his defence.

The Sessions Judge may have attached importance to the first confession of Kanai Lal Dutt, but it can have no weight with the people. There is nothing to show that the two accused had conspired to take the life of Narendra Nath Goswami until before the night previous to the day of occurrence. Even supposing that Satyendra Nath Bose had the revolvers, it is difficult to believe that he should have made a disciple of Kanai Lal Dutt in the course of a single night to the extent of his becoming ready to commit a murder. On the other hand where is the evidence to show that they had met before to form this plan? There is nothing to prove that Satyendra had called Gossain to the hospital with a guilty intention. If we believe Mr. Higgins's statement that Satyendra had a pistol in his hand, why should we then not believe the same man's statement that Indra Nath Nandy also participated in the guilt? The fact is that Mr. Higgins was quite confused at the time, and named Kanai, Satyendra and Indra Nath simply because he considered them to be the enemies of Narendra Gossain. We therefore ask if a conviction on evidence like this has been right?

The case of Satyendra Nath Basu.

29. In expressing its sorrow at and disapproval of the sentence of death passed on Satyendra Nath Basu by the High Court, the *Samaj Darpan* [Salkea] of the 2nd November points out that the Musalman rulers of India did not execute death sentences, prefering not to take a life when they could not create one. Persons sentenced to death were kept as slaves in the Imperial household, and subjected to hard treatment. The Hindus, again, though they permitted death sentence by their laws, held in their *Shastras* that the highest punishment was forgivenesss.

SAMAJ DARPAN, Nov. 2nd, 1908.

Mr. Justice Sharfuddin vindicated.

30. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 6th November indignantly repels the hostile criticism of the Hindus directed against Mr. Justice Sharfuddin for confirming the death sentence passed on Kanai Lal Dutt and sentencing Satyendra Nath Basu to be hanged, and says that His Lordship did his duty justly and impartially.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, Nov. 6th, 1908.

Mr. Justice Mitter.

31. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 5th November says, that had not Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra been a thoroughly independent Judge, it would not have been necessary for him to retire so soon.

JASOHAR, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The prolonged absence of the District Judge of Murshidabad.

32. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th November draws attention to the serious inconvenience caused to the public by the long absence of the District Judge of Murshidabad.

SRI SRI VISHNU PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The Proclamation and the Alipore anarchist case.

33. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 6th November applauds Mr. R. C. Banerjee, defence Counsel in the Alipore anarchist case, for the clever way in which he opposed further proceedings in that case, on the ground that His Majesty the King-Emperor having declared in the Proclamation that the internal peace of Iudia has not been disturbed, the charge of waging war against the King, which has been brought against the accused, could not stand. The paper also takes Mr. Beachcroft to task for having averred that what His Majesty has said in the Proclamation is a mis-statement of facts. This, says the paper, is fun indeed, for at a single stroke everyone, from His Majesty the King-Emperor down to the police constable, has been put out of countenance. But then how impudent it is for the Judge to say in open court that His Majesty is in error. In the days of our Badshas such a Kazi would have been punished with death. You are, Judge, the representative of His Majesty, and have to do everything in his name. And you did not have the least scruple in saying that His Majesty was wrong. Is it such examples of loyalty which are to teach us to be loyal? Ah, fie, your mode of trying cases is of as much value

SANDHYA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

as your Royal Proclamation. And you are not moved to be kind, even if you are exhorted in the King's name. You are unwilling even to add to the valour of His Majesty's words. Fie to you, but bravo Banerjee!

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The *Pioneer* and the *Bande Mataram*.

34. Referring to the confiscation of the *Bande Mataram* Press, the *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says that the article for which the *Bande Mataram* has been punished, is nothing compared with the article which appeared in the *Pioneer* praising Kanai Lal Dutt. This sort of race distinction makes it extremely hazardous for Natives to continue publishing newspapers.

BHARAT MITRA, Nov. 7th, 1908,

Bande Mataram Press confiscation.

35. Referring to the confiscation of the *Bande Mataram* Press by the Government for the publication of a seditious article, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 7th November observes, that the Chief Presidency Magistrate refused to listen to the argument of the defence that the article was written in imitation of a similar article in the *Pioneer*, on the ground that it belonged to another Province.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Bail allowed to an accused in the Bajitpur dacoity case.

36. Babu Umaprasanna Guha, writes the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November, must be a hero indeed, for though a Deputy Magistrate, he has, at a time when refusal of bail is the order of the day, had the courage to allow bail to Babu Kalipada Ray of Bankura, who was arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the Bajitpur dacoity.

BIHAR BANDHU, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Mr. Carnduff's popularity in Patna.

37. In an eulogistic article on Mr. Carnduff, recent Sessions Judge of Bankipore, and now elevated to the High Court Bench, the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipore] of the 7th November says, that the public miss him as one of their own kith and kin, such was his popularity on account of his geniality and other social qualities so rarely found in the Civilians of the present day.

SANDHYA, Nov. 10th, 1908.

The Midapore bomb case.

38. We thank God, writes the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th November, that the men of lead and light in Midnapore who were connected with the Midnapore bomb case have at last been discharged. For the sufferings they have undergone, they ought to blame their ill-luck alone. We thank Mr. Sinha for being instrumental in setting them free. We thank Mr. K. B. Dutta for the pains he has taken for the defence of the case. We thank also His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser for having given his sanction to this work of mercy and justice. And we congratulate the Raja of Narajole and others on their discharge.

(c)—*Jails.*

HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Massacre of the innocent.

39. Referring to the sickness prevailing among the under-trial prisoners in the Alipore bomb conspiracy case, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November says:—

"This is what is called the massacre of the innocent!"

SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The Bengal Government on the treatment of Midnapore prisoners.

40. Referring to the reply of the Bengal Government to the petition made to the Lieutenant-Governor pointing out the sort of treatment accorded to Babu Matilal Mukerji in the Midnapore Jail, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes:—

If everything be referred to the local authorities for final disposal, where is the necessity for provincial rulers? If what the District Magistrate does be good in all cases, why then was the Lieutenant-Governor appointed?

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The prisoners in the Midnapore Jail and Sir Andrew Fraser.

41. Referring to the refusal of Sir Andrew Fraser to interfere in the matter of the treatment of certain prisoners in the Midnapore Jail in connection with the local bomb case, the *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says that Sir Andrew Fraser's partiality towards the police and his subordinate Civilians is wellknown. Had the accused persons been Europeans, would they have been treated in the same manner? It cannot be denied that prisoners in connection with the bomb case are at present receiving unfair

and unlawful treatment at the hands of the authorities. The Superintendent of the Midnapore Jail has himself admitted this. The prisoners in the Alipore Jail are losing their health through solitary imprisonment and slowly advancing towards death. None, however, can praise the intelligence of those who want to rule a kingdom by means of brutal and inhuman oppression.

HITAVADI, Nov. 6th, 1908.

42. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 6th November is not surprised that the Lieutenant-Governor lately declined to interfere with the discretion of the Superintendent of Midnapore Jail regarding his treatment of the accused in the bomb case. The paper should not be surprised to see Captain Weinman promoted soon, for Sir Andrew, the friend of the police, is a veritable ocean of mercy.

Bomb prisoners in Midnapore Jail.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

43. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November finds fault with the reply given by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the petition submitted to His Honour by some of the accused in the Midnapore anachist case regarding their illegal ill-treatment in jail. The petition, writes the paper, has been rejected, because the murder of Gossain has made it necessary for the authorities to keep a strict guard over the prisoners concerned in the anarchist cases at Alipore and Midnapore. But this argument beats hollow even the one put forward by the wolf in Æsop's Fables in justification of his eating up the lamb. Mr. Weinman, who is in charge of the Midnapore Jail, admits that he is ignorant of the law, and that he acted in contravention of the Jail Rules. And still the Lieutenant-Governor supports and justifies all that Mr. Weinman has done. Is it then just to keep under-trial prisoners confined in solitary cells, to strip them naked every three hours, to wake them up every two or three hours at night, and to make respectable prisoners stand up and sit down six times as a punishment for not *salaaming* the Jail Superintendent? Will the Lieutenant-Governor enlighten the public on these points? It is the carelessness of the Jail authorities which is accountable for Gossain's murder. Is it then proper to make other persons suffer for this? We hope that His Honour will reconsider the matter.

Treatment of the Midnapore accused in Jail.

(g)—*Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigation.*

PRASUN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

44. A correspondent writes to the *Prasun* [Katwa] of the 6th November to point out how the proposed alignment of the "ghât siding" of the Hooghly-Katwa Railway will encroach on the courtyard of the temple of the god Ghoreswar Shib at Katwa, and thereby hurt the religions susceptibitities of the Hindus. This god is a very ancient one, having been mentioned by the poet Kasi Ram Das, and commands the worship of a large section of the local population. A complaint similar to the present one was made to the Engineer in charge of the Railway, but without avail.

A Railway complaint.

BANGAVASI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

45. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November, in alluding generally to the complaints frequently made in the Press against the female booking-clerks at Howrah, and particularly to the one made in the *Statesman* lately by one Raghunath Das, writes that such complaints were not heard when Bengali male booking-clerks did duty. Railways are commercial concerns, and how is a commercial concern likely to succeed unless it takes heed of the public convenience.

Female booking-clerks in Howrah.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

46. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November wonders why the Government is going to throw away crores of rupees by building a bridge at Sara, although an experienced engineer like Sir Bradford Leslie is of opinion that such a bridge can never last. The Rothschilds were ready to erect a bridge at Godagari, but the Government would not agree to this. Perhaps the object of the Sara Bridge is not only commercial but also strategical; it may be meant as an easy means of transport for soldiers to the north-eastern frontier, and that is why the Government does not care how much money is spent on it.

The Sara Bridge.

(h)—General.

HITAVARTA, Oct. 29th, 1908.

A Bengali clerk dismissed from the Bihar Opium Department.

47. In connection with the explanation called for from the Head of the Bihar Opium Department for entertaining a few Bengali clerks in the office, which led to the dismissal of one of them, as reported in an issue of the *Bihar Herald*, the *Hitavarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October exclaims :—"This is the virtue of Sir Andrew Fraser! Hence so much praise!"

KHULNAVASI Oct. 31st, 1908.

Wanted a new subdivision in Khulna.

48. The *Khulnavasi* [Khulna] of the 31st October puts forward a case for the establishment of a new subdivision in the Khulna district, preferably at Kaliganj. The District, now that it has got a separate District Judge, is a first class independent district and it possesses only three subdivisions. The Satkhira Subdivision consists of eight or nine thanas and at its southern extremty is expanding as more and more new land is being brought under cultivation. It requires relief badly therefore. With a new sub-divisional station, nearer the houses of the people, much crime would be brought to justice, which now goes unredressed because of the distance and expense of attendance at the courts.

SAMAJ DARPAN, Nov. 2nd, 1908.

The King's Message.

49. In commenting on the recent King's message to the Princes and people of India, the *Samaj Darpan* [Salkea] of the 2nd November writes :—

It will serve no good purpose to be out-spoken on the present occasion in examining how far the promises made in the Proclamation of 1858 have been kept. Dealing with one of them, with the promise of non-interference with our religion for instance, we ask if it is not permitting an act of interference with our religion to permit placards to be posted-up in street-corners abusing our religion. Is it not also an act of interference with our religion to permit persons to mock the images of our gods for their nudity, and to make Hindu and Musalman convicts when about to be hanged, listen to a religious exhortation from a Christian priest ?

Continuing, the paper suggests that all expressions of loyalty from Indians are at the present moment forced, and that the Proclamation of 1858 was a piece of huge sham which the Indians might well pray to be spared. The paper concludes by a quotation from the minutes of Lord Lawrence, assigning as one of the causes of the Sepoy outbreak of 1857, the growth of a conviction in the minds of the people that the English had insulted their traditional customs and usages, and levelled down all family distinctions.

BHARAT MITRA, Nov. 2nd, 1908.

The gracious Royal Message.

50. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 2nd November has the following on the gracious Message, received from His Majesty the King-Emperor on the 2nd November last :—

Whatever be the character of the Message, we are glad because of His Majesty's attention towards India. In the vast Empire on which the sun never sets India is a mere speck. Enough for us then that it finds a place in the Royal heart.

The Message is published side by side with the Proclamation of the Mother Queen. Reading of the rights and privileges mentioned in the letter makes our heart overflow with joy; but instead of securing those rights, etc., we have been missing that document of these 50 years, because of the promises held out in it not having been fulfilled by the officials. The Queen had promised the development of peaceful industries in this country after its pacification, but her officials in the interest of the English merchants put a heavy stone on the head of the infant cloth industry, while it was yet making an effort to be on its legs.

The Queen had promised to respect the treaties made with the Princes and Chiefs of India by the East India Company, but Her officials have broken them in various instances, as will appear from Mr. Digby's book published some time ago. The Queen had promised an equal treatment to all Her subjects, but how far this has been realised will appear from the difference in the treatment of Europeans and Indians by the officials. The operation of the Arms' Act is more rigorous in the case of the Indians than of the Europeans. The Europeans have a right to be tried by their peers but how many Indians can have the same? Every one is aware of

the oppression committed on the Indians in South Africa. Provision of a separate carriage accommodation on Railways is another example of the racial distinction observed here. The proclamation itself was termed "political hypocrisy" by the late Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, and the late Viceroy, Lord Curzon, felt no compunction in giving it a strange interpretation. So long therefore, as the present temperament of the officials continues, so long as such officials only are not appointed to administer the state as would respect the Royal Messages as Divine appointments, so long as the officials who have to rule over a people believing in the Divine Right of Kings and do not give up the habit of showing disrespect to the Royal Commands given from a distance of 6000 miles beyond the seas, better it would be that His Majesty had not issued the Command at all. Bearing this in mind we are glad that the Royal Message contains no solemn pledges.

Many of our countrymen have been disappointed after having compared the present Royal Message with the Mother Queen's promises, but in our opinion it would have been better if the Message had not said "if ever errors have occurred ... . to correct them", for we see the Secretary of State refusing to undo the Partition of Bengal even after admitting that it was wrong. The wound is still fresh in the hearts of 40 millions of Bengalis. The fact is the Ministers make the King say what they like. The *Pioneer* has found the hand of Lord Morley in the Message and has gone so far as to say that the Ministers have to keep the interests of their party before their eyes when making any statement. But Royal Messages must be above any consideration of the kind. The minister who involves the King in this way does great injury to the people.

We are, however, satisfied with the "affectionate solicitude" with which His Majesty has watched the interests of the people of India suffering from plague and famine, and we are confident that if any day we shall be able to bring back those to the right path who are ever trying to create a gulf between the King and His subjects we shall have the good luck of enjoying the Royal favour equally with the other subjects of His Majesty.

BURDWAN. SANJIVANI, Nov. 3rd, 1908.

The King's Message.

51. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 3rd November writes that Indians looked forward to the announcement of the grant of new political rights and concessions in the King's message. Instead His Majesty only echoes what the officials here say, and says nothing to fill Indians with any hope. Indeed this message lacks all individuality and cannot, therefore, like the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, be held in greatful remembrance by the Indians as a charter of liberties which they will try to attain.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA. Nov. 4th, 1908.

The King-Emperor's Proclamation.

52. Referring to the King-Emperor's Proclamation, the *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 4th November says, that the ruler should hasten to correct the error of the partition of Bengal. The Emperor says that errors and abuses have been corrected and remedied. How strange that his agents have not yet corrected that great error!

The *Statesman* says: "It does not rise to the level of its memorable prototype," and seems to imply that the Indians must give evidence of their prowess like the Sepoy Mutineers before they can expect anything like that "Magna Charta." It must be said that such a suggestion direct or indirect is highly inopportune.

Though the present Proclamation supports that of 1858, yet everybody can see that it has failed to give complete satisfaction.

SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The King-Emperor's Proclamation.

53. Referring to the King-Emperor's Proclamation, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes :—

After the issue of the Proclamation of Emperor Edward VII, we sent one of our representatives to distinguished men in Calcutta for the purpose of ascertaining their views, and we publish his letter below :—

"Half-a-century ago, in 1858, when the flame of the Sepoy Mutiny brought a serious unrest all over India, then the late Queen Victoria issued a Proclamation. Again, fifty years afterwards her son, Emperor Edward VII, has issued another Proclamation. It was issued on the 1st November last, but on this occasion no sign of enthusiasm or earnestness

was observed among the general public. No Durbar was held on this occasion, nor was the Emperor's Proclamation read before the public as was done in 1858. Even in the Capital city no preparation for any kind of rejoicing was witnessed among the public.

Frist of all, I visited Babu Dwarka Nath Chakravarty, M.A., B.L., the eminent High Court Vakil. He had been bed-ridden with gout for several months; and though he has now recovered, he is not quite well yet; with great kindness he called me to his bed-side, and on being informed of the object of my visit, was a little surprised. At first he expressed great unwillingness to allow his individual opinion to appear in newspapers. But as I visited him in the capacity of a newspaper representative, he was obliged to answer my questions. He said he believed that nothing was gained by publishing such opinions, which would only serve to cause irritation to the Government.

Q.—How did you feel on reading the Emperor's Procalamation ?

Ans.—I was not at all surpriscd when I read it. I know that the cardinal policy of the present sovereign and his officers is to support the doings of the subordinate officials. They are under the impression that they have done much for us, that whatever rights they have conferred upon us are sufficient; and therefore they think that nothing more is necessary to be done for us or to be given to us. This is my firm impression and belief. I have not been surprised on perusing the King-Emperor's Proclamation.

Q.—It is stated in the Proclamation that the officers of the Government have done their utmost to correct the errors and defects in the administration. Do you think that this statement is true ?

Ans.—What is the good, Sir, of discussing such topics ? If they have corrected all the errors, then why have they permitted the error of the partition of Bengal to stand ? The Secretary of State has repeatedly said that the partition was a great error. Lord Curzon said : "I did not do the act." Distinguished officials have condemmed the measure, and the whole country protested against it. But still the rulers have not rectified this error.

Q.—It is said in the Proclamation that appointments are made to responsible Government posts solely according to merit without any distinction of race or creed. What is your opinion about this ?

Ans.—If this be true, how is it that in the new Province distinction of race is made, and encouragement is given to incompetency ? Why are Europeans and Eurasians treated with greater consideration ? But however this may be, I believe that nothing is gained by these discussions.

Preceiving this attitude in him, I thought it useless to question him further, and I took my departure from that place. I then went to the house of Justice Ashutosh Mukerjee ; but on hearing that he was at Benares, I left the place and went to the house of Devendra Chandra Ghosh, Vakil of Bhowanipore. He also was unwilling to express his opinions in newspapers. On learning the object of my visit, he said that if he at all gave his opinion, he must do it in writing, lest I should misrepresent him and so place him in a difficulty. He then made me partake of some refreshment, and wrote out his views in English to the following effect:—

"The reforms in the administration which Government contemplate making, all depend upon the will of Partiament. I therefore knew before the Emperor's Proclamation was issued this week that His Majesty by himself would be able to do nothing. I am not entitled to criticise a Royal Proclamation which expresses the generous desires of the Emperor. The authorities cannot now grant rights over and above those granted to us by the Proclamation of 1858. No details are given in the present Proclamation of the rights that will be conferred upon us in the administration of the country. The authorities boast of having done much for us, and it seems to me that they are sincere. Not a single one of the promises made by Queen Victoria in 1858 has been denied in the present Proclamation. All that can be said in support of the statement in the Proclamation that the officers of Government have promptly corrected all errors in the administration, is that the Punjab Colonisation Bill was vetoed ; but at the same time it strikes me that if the partition of Bengal had been annulled in deference to the wishes of the Bengalis, then the above utterance of the Emperor would have received much greater esteem of the men

and women of Bengal. On the whole, however, the Proclamation of the Emperor has pleased me."

I then left Debendra Babu and went to Ray Srinath Pal Bahadur, who said :—

"The Emperor's statement, to the effect that all the promises of the Queen's Proclamation have been kept, is not true. Equal rights to all, irrespective of caste or creed, are not given. Merit does not receive recognition, and colour is allowed to supersedes merit ; as an illustration, the preference given to Europeans and Eurasians may be mentioned."

Q.—Errors in the administration, when pointed out, have been corrected by His Majesty's subjects, so says the Proclamation. What have you to say to this ?

A.—Serious blunders have not been corrected at all ; but, Sir, this question of yours is very difficult to answer. The first impression one derives from a perusal of this portion of the Proclamation is that every error, when it has come to light, has been corrected by the Government officers ; but this portion has been so cleverly worded that a slightly attentive study reveals its hidden meaning. The Proclamation reads :—

"If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and self-sacrifice to correct them ; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy."

That is to say, whenever errors have been discovered, the officers have done their utmost to correct them and remove abuses if any. But the question is, perhaps they have exerted themselves to their utmost—perhaps they have done something even more than that. But have the errors been corrected or the abuses removed ? If we seek the results of these utmost efforts of these rulers, we actually fall into utter despair. The words in the Proclamation have been cautiously weighed and then used. Again, the utterences of the Emperor about the Native Princes, Chiefs of Feudatory and Protected States are not, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, correct. His Majesty says that their rights and privileges have not been interfered with ; but this is not correct. As an illustration, it may be said that last year the Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das, as the representative of certain Rajas in Orissa, went to lay their grievances before the King, but no redress whatever was vouchsafed, and he had to return disappointed.

Q.—What do you think when you compare the Proclamation of 1858 with the prerent Proclamation ?

A.—In the Queen's Proclamation simplicicy and kindness came out in bold relief almost in visible form. A perusal of the present Proclamation at once conveys the impression that every word in it was carefully weighed before being used, and every line gives evidence of a diplomatic turn of mind. Queen Victoria in her Proclamation expressed in clear and unmistakable language what rights she would confer upon us. But in the present Proclamation not a single word has been uttered in a straight-forward manner, and everything is shrouded in mystery. In the Proclamation of 1858, the Queen's own hand was visible, and the natural kindness and simplicity of a woman's heart cast aside diplomatic reserve and gave assurance of safety to her subjects. But in the present Proclamation the Ministry have, as it were, thrown our Sovereign into the background, and, having marred his individuality, indited the Proclamation as if in conformity with the present policy of the administration. On the whole, I have been totally disappointed on reading the Proclamation. A perusal of it banishes all hope.

I then presented myself before Babu Girish Chandra Bose, the worthy Principal of the Bangavasi College. A few other estimable men were present there. Girish Babu was unwilling to express any opinion about the Emperor's Proclamation. He said that he had not read it attentively, but, on the whole, was of opinion that the present Proclamation when compared with the Proclamation of Queen Victoria holds out absolutely no hope.

At this time another gentleman said :—"Why don't you take down my views ?" This remark called forth loud laughter.

I then went to Sir Gurudas Banerjee, the retired High Court Judge. He was then engaged in devotions. After the close of his Puja he sent for me. When he came to know my mission, he said with great diffidence that he could

not express any opinion on political matters. He said that he did not join any political affair, because he did not think it safe for a retired Judge who was enjoying a pension to take part in these agitations.

From this place I went to Babu Gaganendra Nath Tagore, the well-known zamindar of Jorasanko. He also said that he did not mix in political matters, and was therefore unwilling to express any opinion on this topic, as there was no knowing what interpretation might be put on words spoken.

I then went to Babu Pramatha Nath Mullik, the well-known millionaire of Pathuria Ghata. He said that there could be no comparison between the Queen's Proclamation and the present one. The reason is that at the time of the first Proclamation India was shaken under the Sepoy Mutiny, and British rule was about to collapse; but the present Proclamation is issued 50 years afterwards, at a time when the British Empire in India has been placed on a firm basis. Such being the case, he did not wish to say anything about the difference in language and spirit of the two Proclamations which the public finds for a great dissimilarity lies at the root of both. In the Emperor's Proclamation reference has been made to the famine and the plague; but I am deeply disappointed to find no mention of the disastrous floods in Hyderabad; for the Nizam has also been addressed in the Proclamation along with the other Princes, and it would have been a good thing if the disaster in the Hyderabad State had been mentioned.

My disappointment is the greater continued he, because along with the Proclamation a notification has heen published in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the purchase of Government promissory notes, which will have the effect of inflicting a loss of about 20 per cent. on those who purchased Government paper bearing 2 per cent. interest in 1896. My feelings have received a shock all the more because this notification has been published along with the Royal Proclamation.

Again, I have been much more disappointed he proceeded, because the Income-tax has not been abolished. At the time of the last Afgan War the Income-tax was levied to moet the cost of the war, and out of the procceds of this tax the entire cost was met. But still the officials do not abolish this tax which was a tax for military purposes; on the contrary they have made it permanent. At least the assurance for the abolition of this tax ought to have been given in the Proclamation. I have been quiet charmed with the words spoken by the Emperor about the native soldiers. But I am mortified to find no mention of the inhuman treatment which these faithful Indian soldiers are receiving in South Africa, of which no redress has yet been granted by the Parliament.

He then said that he was greatly surprised at finding no rejoicings which ought to be held at the time of the publication of the Proclamatien.

After Pramatha Babu had finished, I put the same questions to him which had been put to other eminent men, and said that it was stated in the Proclamation that appointments in the public service were given without any consideration of race or creed, but according to merit, and mentioned other matters in connection therewith.

A.—"The Emperor having said that these things have been done, we, who are his loyal subjects, are bound to admit the truth of this assertion."

I thought over the matter and came to the conclusion that nothing more need be said after such a reply as this; so I thanked him and left the place.

At last I went to the residence of Maharaja Pradyot Kumar Tagore. He was very busy with his household matters, but still very kindly conversed with me. At last when I disclosed my mission, he did not at all condescend to give his opinion. He told me that he was Secretary of the British Indian Association, and so if he gave any opinion it would be his duty to do so as much as possible as the representative of the other zamindars of Bengal; but as he had not consulted them in the matter, he could not say anything. I, therefore, did not ask him anything further. He then consented to hear something from me about which I felt a great curiosity.

Q.—Are you the Sheriff of Calcutta?

A.—Yes.

Q.—The issue of the Emperor's Proclamation is an event of great importance which takes place after 50 years. How is it then that no public rejoicings were witnessed, nor any public meetings convened?

A.—I can tell you nothing particular on this subject: nobody from the public proposed to me to hold a meeting. The High Court being still closed, the Sheriff has also no work to do.

Q.—With your permission, I shall ask you one more question.

A.—You may ask it.

Q.—You are the leader of the loyal landlords of Bengal. Why, then, did you not yourself hold any rejoicings on the day of the Proclamation?

A.—I am now in mourning on account of the death of my father. I have made up my mind not to join any festivities before offering *pinda* to my departed father.

I then bowed and took my departure.

The King's message.

54. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 5th November asks how the Bengali, people, as a whole, who are sorely stricken with poverty and ill-health and who are socially disorganised, will be gainers by the conferment of political rights on a few favoured ones amongst them by their rulers. The Marwaris never ask for such rights. They make money and live their lives happily, doing good to their own community. Furthermore why should Bengalis bother themselves about changes in the administrative machinery when such changes are sure to be made by the English themselves as the party responsible therefor as soon as their interests call for it?

SANDHYA, Nov. 5th, 1908

These remarks are *apropos* of the disappointment and dissatisfaction with which some Bengalis have received the King's message. These are not the proper feelings to be evoked by that document. For though Hindu and Musalman sovereigns were accessible personally to the meanest of their subjects, the English can never have it that way. With them kings have not the unlimited powers which ours had—their kings are much like the stone or clay images of our gods, who do indeed receive worship but who cannot personally enjoy the offerings of worship. He speaks what he is made to say by the priest, that is, his ministers. And furthermore we have for our Emperor not merely King Edward VII, but all Englishmen individually and collectively. So we ought not to grieve at the tone of the King's message. The English people can under no circumstances give us what we beg from them, because there is a possibility of their interests suffering if we wax fat. Intelligent as they are, why should they lay the axe at their own feet?

And then again why should we beg for anything from them at all? Let us first put our own house in order, let us first become men ourselves, let us first learn to be one in thought and feeling, in short let us first build up the image before we proceed to deck it out with ornament. That is a far way off yet. And in the accomplishment of this work of putting our own house in order we shall be aided by the facts that the British Government does not oppress individuals and that it respects wealth. So if we can each of us get rich and go back to and improve our own villages, Government will make no objection. Like the Marwaris who are honoured by the English because of their wealth all Bengalis should try to develop their manhood and acquire riches. As the English here are for their own gain, if we do not learn their language and accommodate ourselves to their ways they must learn our language and suit themselves to our modes of life. We are the *mahajans* and they are in the position of *beparis*. What we should do now is not to stir out of our own sphere while keeping on amicable terms with others.

The King's Proclamation.

55. Referring to the King's Proclamation *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda-Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes:—

SRI SRI VISHNU-PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The Queen's Proclamation raised hopes in the hearts of the Indians. The conquered subjects under foreign sway were reassured by that Proclamation. But unfortunately even petty officials are trampling upon the assurances given by that Proclamation.

Last Monday was the day on which the celebration of the Proclamation recurred after half a century. The King's Proclamation has been published all over the country and the Princes and the people of India have received the message of their King-Emperor, but its perusal has not awakened hopes in the hearts of the people. Everybody expected that reforms should be granted which would improve the administration But they have been grievously

disappointed. We all know that the heart of our King-Emperor is very noble, great and generous. That His Majesty has great sympathy for his Indian subjects is known to all. But the present administrative policy is so very bad that we cannot realise any of the virtues of such a sympathetic sovereign. His Majesty says in his Proclamation that he really loves his Indian subjects. This assurance is very true and not at all illusory. But most likely no report of the terrible unrest which has been created in this country by His Majesty's paid servants has reached his ears. Too much power given to the officials and their lawless conduct have nullified all the benign promises of the Proclamation. Europeans and Indians do not receive equal treatment, and the estrangement between the two communities is daily becoming greater. There is no dearth of highly qualified Indians in the country, but how many get the higher posts under Government? Has any qualified Indian ever received the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal? If the King-Emperor studies the condition of the Indian peoples, and keeps an eye upon the doings of officers without depending solely upon what his Ministers say, then his sympathy for the people would be a thousand times greater. If His Majesty will inquire into the cause of the seething discontent in India he will know that, loyal and law-abiding as the people are, they have been goaded to desperation by injustice, oppression and persecution. But still their loyalty to the throne is as firm as ever. Even those who have been characterised as anarchists, are not disloyal to the King-Emperor, nor do they wish to see the disruption of his Indian Empire. But those who oppress and persecute in the name of justice are the real enemies, both of the King-Emperor and the people. If the King-Emperor were to give an assurance that these oppressions and persecutions would be put an end to, then the joy of the people would know no bounds. This one subject ought to occupy the attention of the King-Emperor and his ministers. But there is very little agreement between what is stated in the opening paragraphs of the Proclamation and the actual circumstances. The clemency shown to convicts by releasing them is insignificant compared with what was done on previous occasions. The release of the editor of the *Barisal Hitaishi* deserves special mention in this connection.

We pray to God for the long life and the prosperity of the King-Emperor, and may the desire to do good to his Indian subjects grow stronger and more powerful.

HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The King's Message.

56. According to the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November, the Message has given a new life to the Proclamation of 1858, and for it it thanks His Magesty from the bottom of its heart. The paper however expected something more, and is therefore disappointed to some extent. If the Civil Service Examination had been allowed to be held in India also, and half the appointments on the result of this examination had been reserved for the Indians, the paper would consider that a real step forward had been taken after 50 years.

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The Emperor's Proclamation.

57. The *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says, that it has not been befitting the Emperor of India, who is a son of the late beloved Queen Victoria and is looked upon as an incarnation of the Godhead of the Indians, to mark his Proclamation on the occasion of the 50th-anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, merely by the release or a reduction in the terms of imprisonment of a number of prisoners. It cannot be said that Emperor Edward VII bears no love for the Indians. But his words on this occasion ought to have been simple and candid, iustead of highly diplomatic like speeches from the throne delivered at the beginning of Parliamentary Sessions.

The Proclamation of 1858 is the Indians' Magna Charta. Has King Edward's Proclamation been up to it? Many of the things that have been said in the latter Proclamation are exaggerated and unmixed with truth.

Had the Proclamation of 1858 been followed in practice; would not the Indians have so long got self-government; would cases of death of Indians at the hands of white men have been numerous; would the authorities have dared prescriba that in filling up vacancies in the public service the *Feringhi* will be given the first chance and preference, then the Musalmaas, then the local

people, and last the Bengali; would the Ilbert Bili have beeu withdrawn, would not a memorial have been erected to Lord Ripon through the endeavours of the authorities; would there have been a difference between the scales of pay of white and black officers and soldiers; and would Indians have beon so ill-treated in the Transvaal?

True that it is not in the power of man to prevent the occurrence of famine or plague. But are sufficient efforts made to check these evils? What is generally seen is that when a famine first appears, the high authorities know nothing about it. Afterwards when people begin to die of starvation, the news of it reaches first the village chaukidar then the Sub-Inspector of Police, then the Inspector of Police, then the Superintendent of Police, then the Magistrate, and then the Secretary; lastly it reaches the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor or Viceroy; then there are enquiries made. All length when orders are issued for giving relief, it is seen that the amount of ralief which the authorities propose to give falls altogether short of the real necessity; and then efforts are made to raise subscriptions from the public. Does all the bespeak efficiency on the part of the authorities? A similar method is followed in the matter of plague also. Of course His Majesty does not know these things, and has said only what his ministers and advisers advised him to say otherwise; why should he simply reiterate the song which Anglo-India has so long been singing about good-government in India.

As for the conspiracy, it is no bigger than a pimple in the body politic of India. Besides this, the case is *subjudice*. In this state of things it cannot be said to have been politic of the part of His Majesty to refer to the subject.

The gracious Royal Message.

58. The *Darus Sultanat* [Calcutta] of the 6th November rejoices at the gracious Message which, it says, should be read with interest and care, and suggests that the translation of it should be widely circulated to the public. The Message is at once important and necessary, and has deen received by all the classes with universal satisfaction. Its importance is greatly enhanced on account of its appearing at a time when the echo of sedition and conspirary is still resounding in certain circles in this country. It is evident from a reference to the reforms shortly to be made known that they are not the outcome of the terrorist propaganda, which it asserts would be put down with a strong hand. Every word of the Royal Message regarding individual liberty and religious toleration is quite true.

DARUS SULTANAT, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The King's Message.

59. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 6th November writes thus about the King's message:—

HITAVADI, Nov. 6th, 1908.

A certain amount of hope was raised in the hearts of some people, when it came to be known that on the occasion of the Jubilee of the assumption of the Government of India direct by the Crown of England, King Edward VII like Queen Victoria was to greet the Princes and people of India. But the actual reading of the King's message bas set all doubts at rest. There is not a tinge in King Edward's message of the generosity, benevolence, straightforwardness and sympathy which one sees in the Queen's Proclamation; it has raised no kind of hope in the minds of the people, it has not even held out a hope that Queen Victoria's promises will be fulfilled in every way. The spirit and language of the message under discussion is full of political crookedness. The King's message seems to have been so drafted as to be only a gist of what Lord Morley has said to us before.

Whoever may have drawn up the King's message, in the interests of truth we are bound to say that its purpose has been frustrated because of its want of straightforwardness. Elsewhere are published both Queen Victoria's and King Edward's Proclamations. A perusal of them both will bring home to the reader the difference between them. The King has attempted to give us an idea of the extent to which the Queen's promises have been fulfilled during the last half-century. His Majesty has said that we (*i.e.*, the English) survey our labours of the past century with clear gaze and good conscience. The King's advisers may survey with satisfaction their labours of the past half-century, but we cannot.

In the first place, His Majesty has said that for half-a-century the thirty crores of India's population have been journeying on towards progress. We have got no hint from the King's message of the direction in which this

progress has been made. Queen Victoria promised that Indian subjects were to get equal rights with British-born subjects, irrespective of race and religion. Every one sees how far this promise has been acted on. During these 50 years, the British Government has deprived us of our military spirit by having passed the Arms Act, has curbed considerably the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech for us, and we have been repeatedly told that an irresponsible form of Government will continue in India for all time. How can we feel satisfaction at the contemplation of these things during the past 50 years? It was probably reflections like these which led the King's ministers to refrain from referring at any length in the message to the policy of equality. They have tried to mislead us by raising side-issues, but why should we be misled by pointless statements?

His Majesty has said: "If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy." We cannot be deluded by these utterances of His Majesty. That the partition of Bengal has been a mistake has been repeatedly acknowledged by His Majesty's ministers, but far from rectifying it, we have been repeatedly told that it is never to be rectified. How then can we say that if errors have occurred, they have always been corrected? Perhaps those very ministers of His Majesty who, though acknowledging the partition to have been a mistake, have not bestirred themselves about rectifying it, have drawn up this message. This conduct of theirs may be in accord with Western statesmanship, but is it calculated to rouse feelings of affection in the hearts of the governed?

The King has declared that "no secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague." But many men who know declare that plague is a concomitant of famine—very many hold that plague has broken out in India because she suffers frequently from famines. It is undeniable that from whatever causes, famines occur under British rule somewhat too frequently. His Majesty has not discussed the question why these famines occur, has said nothing about their prevention, and has concluded his treatment of the question simply by dismissing it as a natural calamity. While it is true that Government has made some efforts for the prevention of plague, we cannot think what Government has done for the prevention of malaria.

It is true that our country has for long been free from internal warfare; if our voice had carried any weight in the counsels of Government, we might have used this peace as an opportunity to improve our condition considerably. But this peace has not left us much of gainers because of the fact that all sorts of power lay in the hands of the officials. Queen Victoria promised to us to keep an eye to the improvement of our industries. We shall not discuss at any length now to what extent this promise has been fulfilled. But we can unreservedly say that the Excise duty on Indian-goods is not conducive to the promotion of an Indian industry, and that the proposed Factory law does not indicate any desire to assist indigenous industries.

His Majesty has declared that "no man amongst his subjects has been favoured, molested or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship and that all men have enjoyed the protection of the law." This utterance is all very well for purposes of show. But they who seek justice at the British courts in India know how very difficult it is to get real justice there. Justice varies so much now-a-days according to differences of colour that it has ceased to excite wonder. People do not always get justice by merely seeking the help of the law courts. The judgments of European judges and jurors prove in many cases to be mistaken. The difference between blacks and whites has remained the same for ever, and the more blacks demand equal rights with whites, the more are the latter displeased. Looking at the harassment to which Indians are now being subjected in South Africa, who shall say that the English Government is eager to admit its Indian subjects to equal rights with British ones?

The King has referred to Lord Minto's proposed Council Reforms and to the Decentralisation Commission appointed by Lord Morley. His Majesty has declared that measures are being framed with the object of expanding the Legislative Councils and of bringing officials into closer contact with the people. But we do not admit that we shall attain the summit of our desires

if only the officials have greater opportunities than now of regular contact with the people. The draft scheme of reform of the Legislative Councils published a year ago foreshadowed to us the real aims of the officials. The authorities are to act as they will, keeping a number of puppets at their elbows as representatives of the people on the Legislative Councils and so profess to be acting in every case in consultation with the people's representatives. We do not desire this sort of reform, we want power in our own hands, we want a reform which will mean that the Government of the country will be conducted according to our views. We see no promises to this effect in the King's message. His Majesty has not even repeated the assurances which his loving mother held out; rather he has in a manner declared that he will keep the power of the Executive unimpaired. How can the people be pleased at such a message?

On the whole the perusal of the King's message has filled us with despair. We understand that His Majesty personally and his son are sympathetic towards us, but we find no sign of that sympathy in the message which His Ministers have drawn up. We have lived for half a century under the crown of England and while we admit that during this period we have made some progress in education, we have not been able to make any progress in any other direction as the direct result of any efforts of Government. While the country is gradually getting poorer, the officials persist only in seeing it progressing and made no efforts to cure its poverty. The promises made in the Queen's Proclamation are being violated in most instances, and we have seen individuals even dismissing the document in question as worthless. And yet we have here the King's message declaring that the late Queen's promises have been fulfilled in most cases. How are we to understand the glory of this sort of statesmanship?

Two pieces of good news only we have got from this message. A number of prisoners will be released throughout India and from the opening of the new year the wages of native sepoys are to be raised. There would still remain a large gulf between the wages of European and those of Indian soldiers, but still it is a matter of joy that some small favour has been shown to them at last. Divested of its political cunning, and barring these two matters, nothing else that occurs in the King's proclamation holds out to us a shadow of any hope of fulfilling our hopes and aspirations. Many say that the proclamation of 1858 was so full of generosity and sympathy because it was issued immediately after the sepoy mutiny. We shall not discuss today how far this is true. If it is, are we to infer that it is because peace now reigns in the land that the King's ministers have been miserly in their exhibition of generosity and sympathy in their message?

60. In commenting on the King's recent message, the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 6th November writes:— SAMAY, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The King's Message.

There is a great difference between the Proclamation of 1858 and this Proclamation the language of which is not straightforward, and is full of self-laudation, and glorification of the high officials and of reflections on a particular section of the Indian population. Instead of giving us new rights as expected, it has rather impaired those which had already been granted. It holds out no hope of any change being forthcoming in the iron policy of repression now in favour with Government. It has not even repeated the promises of 1858. Rather it has too much of reproofs and threats. By such concessions as it does foreshadow the native sepoys may get an increment of pay, but they are still to be excluded from the commissioned ranks of the force. Again if the constitutional reforms are to be merely an extension of the sham local self-government we already possess, then it is the same whether we get it or not. These are all in the nature of concessions we are promised in the message and even if we had been promised more, where is the guarantee we should have got them in fact?

61. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes:— BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Royal Proclamation.

Hindus are by nature loyal and regard their sovereign as a god. From the time when the Hindus heard of the approaching jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation and of the Proclamation which His Majesty King Edward VII was to issue on that auspicious day, every one of them and in fact, every Indian, was

looking forward with high hopes to the announcement which His Majesty would make. We now ask our readers to see for themselves what hopes and what assurances our King-Emperor has held out to us.

Many people compare the present Proclamation with the one issued by the late Queen-Empress. It is not His Majesty himself but his ministers who have drawn up the Proclamation. The Queen's Proclamation was written by Lord Derby and Her Majesty added to the document many a touch of her own which fully showed her gracious personality. The Queen knew that the Proclamation would be cherished as a valuable document by the thirty crores of her Indian subjects, and she look care that it was carefully penned. The Queen's Proclamation gives ample proof of Her Majesty's sincere sympathy and kindness for her Indian people, and though many of the promises cantained in that Proclaimation have not been kept, the poor people of India will ever fondly cherish what that august lady has granted to them.

We do not know who has written the present Proclamation, but the style seems to be Lord Morley's. Whoever may be the author of the Proclamation it has given satisfaction to no one in India. Whether in beauty of style, or in the depth of feeling underlying it, or in loving and sympathetic tone, the present Proclamation is not to be compared with that issued by Her late Majesty. In that Proclamation the name of God was mentioned in the beginning, in the middle and in the end ; but in the King's Proclamation it is only in the conclusion that any such mention is once made, and this perhaps has been done by His Majesty himself. Our readers may know that John Morley is an a theist. However, the fact that our gracious sovereign thinks of his poor Indian subjects and is alive to a sense of his duty towards them, has given great satisfaction to the people of India.

A King has to learn everything about his people with the help of what he hears of them. It is not possible for our King-Emperor to move about his vast empire and have direct knowledge of what takes place in every nook and corner of it. He has, therefore, of necessity, to rely absolutely on the reports his ministers make to him. It is quite sure that the wailings of the thirty crores of Indians, who are harassed by famine and a thousand other evils, do not reach the ears of our Emperor who lives at such a long distance from this country. The roar of the waves of three vast oceans* drowns the heart-rending wailings of the Indian people. For this it is not His Majesty but our own luck that is to blame.

* It may mean the Lieutenant-Governor, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India.

We will not criticise the Royal Proclamation in full to-day. Briefly speaking, many Indians have an idea that the promises which the late Queen Empress graciously made in the Proclmation of 1858 have not been kept by Her Majesty's officers in India. True indeed, that "difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day" but if many officials, either out of ignorance or out of malice towards the people, make such difficulties still more complex, do such officials deserve praise? No one who has any knowledge of history will deny that in every country many a political difficulty has been the creation of rash and insolent officials. The present situation in India is very complex; have His Majesty's ministers taken the trouble to enquire into its cause? Is it even possible to smooth down all the difficulties if in matters in which the rulers and the ruled differ in opinion, implicit reliance be placed on whatever the rulers may think or advise? His Majesty's ministers have absolute faith in the abilities of the officials here, and have applauded them in the Proclamation. This may be very gratifying to the officials, but none of the difficult problems which have now arisen in the Empire can be solved by that means.

In the Proclamation of 1858, the late Queen-Empress promised "to stimulate the peaceful industries" of this country. But has this promise been faithfully kept by the officials? It can never be said that in a country, where an Excise duty has been imposed on the growing weaving industry simply for the satisfaction of foreign merchants, where the commercial policy is guided by foreign merchants, "the peaceful industries have been stimulated."

As to how "the rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved and guarded," we would ask Lord Morley to read the booklet the late Mr. Digby wrote on the subject, and

to see for himself whether the treaties entered into with the States of Kashmir, Gwalior, etc., have been fully observed. For the present we will not say anything more on this subject.

There is no doubt that if the laws framed for the welfare of the subjects had been strictly followed, it would have been well both for the rulers and for the ruled. In the eye of the law there is no distinction between the white and the black. But is that law followed faithfully and impartially? The treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, the setting apart of railway carriages marked "For Europeans only," the application of the Arms Act only in the case of the blacks, the privilege of being tried by jury, which is enjoyed by all Europeans but which not all Indians can lay a claim to—do not all these give ample proof of the differential treatment of whites and blacks in this country? Do not British-born persons enjoy special rights and privileges?

The late Queen-Empress gave an assurance that no distinction of race, creed and colour will be observed in the appointment of men in the public service; and His Majesty the King-Emperor also declares that "steps are being continuously taken towards the obliteration" of such a distinction. The "special cadre" reserved for *Feringhees* and the abolition of competitive examinations show how the assurance has been fulfilled.

In the beginning of the Proclamation His Mejesty says: "If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them." Lord Morley has plainly admitted that the partition of Bengal has been a blunder; has that blunder been corrected these four years?

However, we have gained much from the Proclamation; for His Majesty has given us hopes that he will act according to that gracious Preclamation of Queen Victoria, which Lord Salisbury condemned as a "piece of political hypocrisy," and which Lord Curzon tried to explain away, thus rudely hurting the feelings of the people of India. We have been assured by His Majesty that self-government will by and by be introduced into India. Whether or not, these words of hope will be fulfilled is as yet hidden in the dark abyss of the future. But it is very gratifying to the people of India to hear from their Sovereign's lips that His Majesty has since his visit to this country in 1875 been anxiously looking after the welfare of the Princes and people of India. May God grant our Emperor long life!

62. The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 7th November comments as follows on the Royal Proclamation:— HOWRAH HITAISHI, Nov 7th, 1908.

The Royal Proclamation.

We regret to say that the present Proclamation will bear no comparison with the Queen's Proclamation, and that it raises in us no new hopes. The firm yet simple liberal tone which was the characteristic feature of the Queen's Proclamation is totally absent from the Proclamation of 1908. In the old Proclamation the policy that should guide the British administration in India was clearly defined, but no such thing appears in the new one, nor does it it give us any assurance as to whether the promises made by the late Queen-Empress are likely to be kept by His Majesty's officers in India. We have on more than one occasion found high Indian officials trying to explain away the Queen's Proclamation and even acting in direct contravention of the promises contained therein, and the King' Proclamation makes no mention of this. In fact the Proclamation contains nothing but a retrospective survey of, and a few words of praise for, the work of adminstration during the last fifty years. Those who had been anxiously awaiting the Royal Proclamation have all been badly disappointed, for the Proclamation gives no promises of any redress of grievances but in a way supports the present state of things when despotic rule, racial distinctions, travesty of justice and indifference of officials to the welfare of the people are the order of day. This is not only unfortunate for us, the rulers also have lost a splendid opportunity for establishing peace and contentment among the people. In the Proclamation His Majesty says:—

"The Proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian Government, and opened a new era. The journey was arduous and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow, etc."

This may be taken as an indirect admission of the faults there are in the administration, but yet His Majesty gives no hint as to whether such faults

will be mended and the future work of administration carried on on the lines laid down by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. On the other hand, His Majesty has only tried to please us with the delusive assurance that "some three hundred millions of the human race under British guidance and control" have proceeded along the path pointed out by the late Queen-Empress. Next we have held up before us a picture of the administration during the last century painted in glowing colours, leaving out of it all the difficulties and dangers and unpleasant incidents, which happened during that period, on the plea that they "attend all human rule in every age and place." His Majesty next goes on to pay a glowing tribute to his officers in India for their "toil and courage and patience" and their "resolution that has never faltered nor been shaken." We do not grudge His Majesty the self-satisfaction which he may enjoy from this, but we cannot think that His Majesty is absolutely in the dark about the faults and foibles of Indian officials. His Majesty next says:—

"If errors have occurred the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy."

If this statement is to be valid, the partitionof Bengal, which Lord Morley has plainly admitted to be a blunder, cannot stand for a single moment. But all the same the "Partition" has been declared by His Majesty's ministers to be "a settled fact." It is not likely that His Majesty knows nothing about the great agitation that has been going on this country against the "Partition." And hence if the present Proclamation is not to be explained away by his officers as a piece of "political hypocrisy," as was the case with the Queen's Proclamation, the "Partition" must be annulled or modified. But we ask those officials who for the sake of prestige refuse to do anything in the matter of that great blunder, the "Partition," will the conduct of the officials be more welcome to the people than His Majesty's Proclamation? Will the people attach greater value to the officials' "counsel" than to their Sovereign's words? Do the officials think that their prestige will be maintained if they stick to their blunder at the risk of making the King-Emperor out to be a liar? His Majesty thinks it his duty to correct errors when they take place. What right has then his officers in India to keep an error untouched? The blunder of the partition should have been corrected long before the Proclamation was issued, so that the people might have fully realised the true significance of his Majesty's declaration. All reference to the partition has been carefully avoided in the Proclamation, perhaps because it is an unpleasant topic. But if the King-Emperor's statement is to have any weight, the partition must be annulled immediately, no matter how inconvenient and injurious to their self-interest the officials may take such a step to be.

As for what His Majesty says about the remedying of abuses, we have, unfortunately for us, never had an opportunity of realising the validity of this statement. On the other hand, the rewards and promotions granted to oppressive and unjust officials have caused disappointment to us at every step. The incidents of Barisal, Comilla, Mymensingh, etc., can be cited as instances of official oppression.

Referring to famines, poverty, scarcity of water, pestilence, and untimely deaths, which are the characteristic features of Indian life, His Majesty says:—

"No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature."

So henceforth we shall have to modify our conviction that the English always rely on their own personal efforts, for we now find that they do believe in such a thing as destiny. But we may respectfully ask, have the officials done all that they can to mitigate the calamities referred to above? Have they done all that they ought to do for improving the water-supply of this country? Many tanks have totally dried up during the last fifty years, many rivers and canals have been choked up owing to the spread of railways. If all this has to be taken as the index of the skill and abilities of Indian officials, the whole civilised world will be struck with wonder and amazement. If the campaign against rats and mosquites is to be taken as instances of their valour

and skill, then of course they deserve all praise. Whenever they undertook any scheme of real public good, they gave it up after a short time.

His Majesty tries to console us by saying that our country has long been undisturbed by war, and that internal peace now reigns here—things which were quite unknown in this country in the old times. But we may say:—"Sire, think of the frequency with which famines now take place, and compare the situation with what it was in the 16th and 17th centuries. Compare the deaths from starvation which happened in the 19th century with those that occurred in the old times. Why, even the deaths which took place during the first and last parts of the 19th century are enough to make the officials hang down their heads in shame. The absence of war or of breaches of the peace may be due to the unarmed condition and weakness of the people, but they can in no way be said to be signs of good government. In fact, more people now die of famine and pestilence than died of old in wars. If only the absence of wars and internal disturbances be taken to be ample compensation for the misery and destitution of the people, we have nothing to say. Then again, Sire, although the country now enjoys peace, has the military expenditure been reduced by an iota? Does not the amount of money which is now-a-days spent on military missions and commissions, far exceed the expenses of war in the old times? Besides, if the internal peace really remains unbroken, why then is there so much panic among the officials? Why is the situation in India described in Parliament to be of the gravest nature? Why have there been of late such a frequency of prosecutions for sedition, and why have numbers of educated Indians been sent to jail, to exile and to the gallows, sometimes after a trial and sometimes without it? What justification was there for passing the Press Act and the Explosives Act? Why have some respectable men at Alipore and Midnapur been charged with the offence on waging war against the King and of plotting to murder Government officers? We do not possess the foolhardiness to imagine that the Emperor of India is ignorant of the present state of affairs in India or that His Majesty does not speak the truth. Shall we not then presume that it is His Majesty's officers who are causing all these unrest and disturbances quite unknown to him? What is all the more astonishing is that those very officials who are ever anxious to make the people loyal to their sovereign and obedient to themselves, never feel the smallest scruple in directly or indirectly slighting the King's Proclamation. We have already referred to the impudent manner in which the Queen's Proclamation has been flouted by Indian officials. And now the King's Proclamation has been set at nought by one who is a servant of his servants. Mr. Bonnerjee, defence Counsel in the Alipore conspiracy case, suggested that the charge of waging war against the King, which had been brought against the accused in this case, should be dropped inasmuch as the King had declared in the Proclamation that the internal peace of India had not been broken. But the Judge, Mr. Beachcroft, replied that His Majesty had mis-stated the facts. Is it not a shame to make such an allegation against the King who, as Mr. Bonnerjee very aptly said, can do no wrong? If such an act of impudence be pardonable in a Judge or in officials, what necessity is there to set the huge machinery of law in motion against some insignificant newspaper which may have been a little indiscreet in the language in which it adversely criticised a petty official, or against some youths or boys who may have made some gun-powder, or manufactured a bomb, or thought of waging war against the mighty Emperor of India, or against some persons who may be somehow or other connected with them? Is it not more proper to overlook all these as boyish pranks or mad freaks? Even if those persons have committed any offence under the law, can they not be pardoned? Only the King-Emperor and the Almighty can answer these questions, it is more than our present day officials and those whose business it is to dispense justice can do.

In the fourth paragraph of the Proclamation, His Majesty refers to the great Charter of 1858, in which Queen Victoria gave us a "noble assurance of Her desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the Government for the benefit of all resident therein." We cannot in any

way deny that the facilities for the advancement of arts and industries have considerably increased during the last half-a-century. But may we ask, how much have the people of India been benefited by this advancement? Has it not yet been brought to His Majesty's knowledge that Indian arts and industries have gradually deteriorated and not advanced during the last fifty years, and that Indian artisans and labourers are gradually losing the means of livelihood? Have not the spread of foreign arts and industries in this country, and the steady improvement and progress achieved by foreign manufactories and concerns been described as the advancement of Indian arts and industries? What have the officials done to promote the arts and industries of this country, or to train the people in them? If the officials refer to the history of the last fifty years for an answer to this question, they will have to hang down their heads in shame. Besides, the inordinate zeal with which the officials are trying to suppress the present *swadeshi* and boycott agitation strikes one with surprise and shame. After this it is quite needless to discuss the merit of the policy the officials have adopted for the people's good, and of the way in which they have fulfilled the promises made by the Queen Victoria.

Nothing can be more gratifying than the assurance His Majesty gives us that "the rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved and guarded, and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswering." If such has actually been the case during the last fifty years, it is indeed a puzzle to us why King Theebaw of Burma was deposed and his kingdom annexed to the British Empire, and what justified the prosecution and dethronement of the rulers of Manipur, Bharatpur, etc. It must be said that either these Princes have been punished for disloyalty or failure of duty, or that it is the thoughtlessness of the officials which has been the cause of all the mischief; which view is to be taken of the matter, is a point on which we have nothing to say; but we cannot make out how the King's declaration can stand side by side with all these facts. We do not also wish to say anything against the declaration of non-interference with the religious beliefs of the people, and of the simplification of the forms of the law, in the Proclamation. In fact, we fully believe that the English rulers of India do not wish to interfere with the peoples' religious beliefs. We may, however, say that it is highly desirable to put a stop to the slandering of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions in which Christian missionaries, who enjoy the ruler's favour, indulge in India. Then, again, we cannot say that the Government did not directly or indirectly interfere with the religious beliefs of a certain section of the people when the *Sati* system was abolished, and when the Consent Act was passed. It is, however, fortunate that no harm worth mentioning has as yet been done to Hindu society by the measures above-mentioned.

No one can possibly differ from His Majesty as regards what he says about the "guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and serious aim," and which are "abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast host of his Indian subjects," nor can anybody deny that the methods which His Majesty refers to are the best for the maintenance of peace. It is also lucky that no such conspiracy has been found to exist in this country either in the past or in the present. But are conspiracies which have some "just cause" or "serious aim" to be made an exception, and is the law to make some provision for such contingencies? At least the Proclamation seems to imply that such a course is necessary.

We are thankful to the King-Emperor for the release of some prisoners and the remission of the sentences of some others. We are grateful to His Majesty for his promise to obliterate "the distinction of rate as the test for access to posts of public authority and power," and to grant to educated Indians a greater share in their country's administration. We also offer our thanks to the King-Emperor for the tribute he pays to the Indian troops, and for the better prospects which he holds out to them. His Majesty assures us of the heartfelt sympathy he has for us, which is also shared by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

63. In discussing the recent King's Proclamation, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes:— BANGAVASI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The King's Proclamation.

Have the hopes raised in the breasts of the people of India by the Queen's Proclamation fifty years ago been fulfilled? Have Her late Majesty's promises been carried out to the letter? If so, would Lord Curzon want to dismiss that document with a snap of the fingers? That Viceroy brought the Proclamation into disrepute by finding out flaws in words which the late Queen uttered in all sincerity. The fact is the Queen's Proclamation has not been acted upon.

No one is to blame for this. That the Queen's good wishes have not been translated into action is to be attributed to our bad luck. Probably, Her late Majesty herself did not know that her promises had not been acted up to. And the tone of the review of the situation in the present Proclamation suggests that his present Majesty is in similar ignorance, is unaware of the unrest which prevails in all parts of India. While the King has drawn a picture of India enjoying uninterrupted peace and happiness, as a matter of fact the whole land is seething with unrest in a way unparalleled in any previous period of British rule. We believe that if His Majesty had known of this unrest, he would most surely have referred to it in his message, and foreshadowed to a certain extent at least measures for allaying it. And what joy would have filled the hearts of the Indian people in that case!

There is another reference in His Majesty's Proclamation which similarly indicates that not all things which happen here reach his ears. His Majesty declares that there has been under British rule no interference with the religion of the governed. But as matter of fact there have been occasionally such acts of interference, *e.g.*, in the case of the Age of Consent Act. We imagine that if His Majesty had known or had remembered the heart-rending agitation against that legislative measure all over India, he would have omitted any reference in his message to this principle of non interference with religion. His Majesty has not certainly realised how deeply the inmost feelings of the Indians were hurt by that Age of Consent Act. And will the people of India ever forget that it was His Majesty's officials who inflicted this anguish on them, even though it might have been through mistake? To His Majesty personally the infliction of such anguish on the hearts of his subjects would have been intolerable. Consequently we infer that he did not come to know of it all at that time or since.

His Majesty's references to the question of the employment of Indians in the public service suggest that it is his idea that the Queen's promises in this matter have been fulfilled. But is that idea a correct one? We have only to point to the state of affairs in the Forest Department to illustrate the facts of the situation.

Turning to His Majesty's statement that "experienced (British) Administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate" famine and plague, we ask if this has been true in every case, in the case of the Orissa famine of 1866 for example. It is true that Government oftentimes does lend a helping hand to the famine-stricken, but it is also true that occasionally the greatest harm has been done because of their failure to be careful in time. Do not the official measures in connection with the recent famine in East Bengal bear out our statement?

Leaving out all reference to justice, laws, good-treatment and such like on the present occasion, we shall conclude by saying one or two things regarding our life, property and honour. The tone of His Majesty's statements about "the peaceful industries" of India suggest that he believes that India has progressed far in this direction. Is that impression correct? We can only say that His Majesty would carry away a different impression if he could come to India and see things at first hand. As it is, he and ourselves do not come into living contact, so we cannot expect His Majesty's review of the situation to have been other than what it is.

64. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes as follows about the Royal Proclamation:— SANDHYA, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Royal Proclamation.

We never for a moment pause to think that it is not very easy for the English to do all that we want them to do for us.

We should always bear in mind that the English have not come to this country on a pilgrimage, or for the purpose of performing the *Dansagar Sradh** of their ancestors, or to be as that legendary tree which used to give a man anything that he would ask for. They came here as traders, and then became the rulers of this country by a stroke of fortune. But their trade still as ever forms the very breath of their life.

* i.e, a *sradh* performed with great pomp and liberality.

Another thing we always ought to remember is, that there is a wide difference between them and ourselves as regards colour, race and creed, manners and customs, dress, language, and learning. We may as a race of beggars get ourselves up as black *Feringhees* in the hope of rising to the same level as our rulers, but the English can never be the same as we are. It is because there is such a wide difference between their nature and ours that the English cannot trust us, and we for our part cannot open our hearts to them. Do whatever you will, there can never be any racial union between them and us.

Although fortune has made the English the masters of India, they cannot part with their commercial instincts. Their administration is carried on with an eye to profit and loss. To them the greatest profit is the furthering of the interests of their own countrymen and the earning of money, while they do not take loss to mean pecuniary loss alone but the impoverishment of their own nation. The Empire of India belongs to the entire English nation, and not to any particular individual or family.

Lastly, every Englishman out here in India knows full well that their number is very few, and hence they rule this country with the help of its own people. Considering that the English cannot trust us, and that we out-number them very largely, they cannot think it safe to give us any important right or privilege. The English do not know us, nor do we understand them. They do not live among us, and cannot, therefore, be at one with us. During their long exile in this country they always look forward to and avail themselves of the opportunities for visiting their own motherland. which the modern modes of conveyance has brought within their easy reach. Consequently Indians have been disarmed, and some rigorous laws and regulations made. Is it in these circumstances possible for the English to give us every indulgence that we may ask for? They shall never be able to fulfil our hopes, and we shall always have to smart under the pangs of disappointed yearnings. At the time when Empress Victoria issued her Proclamation, the fire of the Sepoy Mutiny was still glowing, and the British ruling power was looking dull. The Empress then said what was suited to the season. Besides, she was a woman and a mother, and the ideas and feelings which then arose within her cannot find a place in the heart of any other person. What was becoming to a woman's life at that time, cannot be so at the present moment. Woollen clothes are to be worn during the cold weather, and not in summer. As the poet Ramprasad sings :—

> "It is nobody's fault, O Mother,
> I am drowing in the waters which I have myself dug out, O Syama !"

To speak the truth, the fault lies with ourselves alone. It is due to a great sin committed by our ancestors that the English are to-day the rulers of India, and it is as a result of a similar transgression on our part thet we are beggars at the door of the English. One cannot be free from the consequences of his sin until he atones for it, hence we are expiating for our sin. What is there to be sorry for in this? Know yourself, and then you will be able to know the world.

HINDUSTHAN, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Emperor's Proclamation.

65. Referring to the King-Emperor's Proclamation, the *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 7th November remarks that in saying that "if errors have occurred, the agents of Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy," His Majesty has expressed a most noble sentiment and promulgated a most generous policy, and hopes that the authorities will follow this policy and undo the mistake of partitioning Bengal. The *Statesman* has insinuated that it was the Sepoy Mutiny which made the Queen's Proclamation so good and generous, and this

may be made to mean that if the Indians can again rise against the English, then only will the latter give them another Magna Charta. The *Statesman* ought to have considered thrice before insinuating all this either directly or indirectly. The paper then gives translations of the Queen's Proclamation and the Emperor's Proclamation, and asks the reader to compare the two. The article concludes with the remark that, although the Emperor's Proclamation is not fully satisfactory, it is not at least altogether disappointing.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, Nov. 7, 1908.

66. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 7th November says that although the Emperor's Proclamation contains no direct reference to the reform scheme of Lord Morley's Government, it indirectly hints at them in the following lines :—

The King's Message.

"From the first the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when in the judgment of my Viceroy and the Governor-General and others of my Counsellors that principle may be prudently extended."

Lord Morley and His Majesty's other ministers know perfectly well what is meant by a representative institution. We are, therefore, at a loss to make out how India has been enjoying representative institutions for the last three years. If the right to elect a few members to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils is construed to be a representative institution, then His Majesty's Counsellors must have been labouring under a great misconception, for in spite of the elected members, the Executive authorities rule supreme in the Legislative Council. Is it for such an unsubstantial privilege that the Indians have been agitating hard for the last few years? Surely not. The Indians do not want an extension of such a privilege. They want that their opinions should be accepted in the Supreme and Provincial Councils, and that all the Departments of the Government should be worked according to the wishes of the representatives of the people. We, however, regret to say that the Emperor's Proclamation gives us no hope of any such real reform.

BIHAR BANDHU, Nov. 7, 1908.

67. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 7th November considers the gracious Message as likely to bring peace to the minds of the Indians to the same extent as Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Proclamation did 50 years ago. Unfortunately for India the exhibition made by the present Liberal Ministry of its liberal principles creates a doubt in the minds of the Indians as to the light in which this Message would be viewed by it, for they see that all that was done at the Delhi Darbar in 1906 was to liberate a number of prisoners. The Message has caused pain to some people, while others think that it has been couched in ambigous terms. We however think that if the officials would bear in mind the solicitude of His Majesty for our welfare, much better would be the result. As for the release of the prisoners, we would pray that the Indian leaders like Tilak, Pillay, Shiwa, as well as the promising youths like Dinanath, be set free, as it would tend to fill the hearts of the Indians—men, women and children—with joy, thinking that His Majesty has listened to their prayer.

Gracious Royal Message.

HINDI BANGAVASI, Nov. 9th, 1908.

68. According to the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 9th November the Message betokens good fortune to the millions of the Indians, and is therefore worthy of all respect.

The gracious Royal Message.

Many have been startled to read certain portions of it, but there is nothing to be startled at. The Message is not written by the King, but by the Ministers. Kings do not see with their eyes, but with their ears. The King believed what His Ministers told him about India. He considered the Message prepared by them as proper. Many think that it is the work of the well-known athiest Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, for there is an absence of the invocation to the Almighty in the beginning and the middle part of the document. The passages which appeal to the feelings are perhaps the only portions which have been written by His Majesty with his own hands.

To review a Royal Message drafted by the Ministers is useless and unnecessary. A perusal of it followed by a survey of the state of things all round would be sufficient commentary in itself.

In one place it is said that the promisses made by the Queen have been fulfilled; we ask if this is a fact. The East India Company had also

made large promises in 1833, but the officers of the Company trampled them under their feet, and the result of it was the Munity of 1857. After this Her Majesty Queen Victoria took the reins of government in her own hands, with solemn pledges. We would ask if these pledges have been fulfilled, and that there is no cause of complaint in respect of them. But the Message contains other things which can not but give a real satisfaction to the Indians. In this Message, His Majesty has held out high hopes to the Indian Army, and expressed his solicitude for the welfare of the Indians. There can be no greater honour to the loyal Hindu subjects. This one word of His Majesty has created hope in them in their present despair and has made them pray with one voice for His Majesty's long life.

SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The coming reforms.

69. Referring to the proposed reforms, a summary of which has appeared in a London paper, in which it is stated that an Advisory Council of Notables, an Indian Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the expansion of the Legislative Councils, will be all that are going to be granted, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November says :—

Does this deserve to be called a reform of the administration? Such reform will not satisfy Indian aspirations. If the Government possesses a majority in the Legislative Councils, what good will the Indians derive by their expansion?

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The proposed reforms.

70. The *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th Novtmber says that the proposed reforms of expansion of the Legislative Councils and formation of an Advisory Council will fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country, for, so long as there will exist an official majority in the Legislative Councils, a mere increase in the number of their Indian Members will never do any good to the Indians, and the Advisory Councillors, who will be nominated by the Government, will never dare lift their voice against it.

HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

"Abuse of public funds."

71. Referring to a rumour that Government is going to compensate the *Englishman* for its being obliged to vacate its present premises, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November observes:—

Should this be a fact, we would say that the Government has carried to perfection the art of abusing public money?

SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The proposed Government compensation to the *Englishman*.

72. Referring to same report, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November says that a strong protest ought to be made before Sir Andrew Fraser leaves India. The officials should be made to see that it is grossly unfair to support the *Englishman* with the money of the Indians.

HITAVADI, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The *Englishman* and Government.

73. Referring to the stafement lately made by "Max" that Government is going to pay Rs. 50,000 to the *Englishman* as compensation for the inconvenience to be suffered by that journal from the acquisition of its office buildings by Government, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 6th November writes:—

We refuse fully to credit this statement. If true, it is most shameful for Government and a terrible misuse of public money. What is the inconvenience, after all, to be suffered by the *Englishman* in merely changing its office?

SRI SRI VISHNU PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, 6th, Nov. 1908.

The "Harikishore" in Parliament.

74. Referring to the question asked in Parliament about the "Harikishore" case and the reply thereto by Mr. Buchanan, as also the contemptuous attitude of the other members of Parliament, the *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th November says that even in Parliament the number of short-sighted and impatient men is not inconsiderable. It seems that even in England the number of far-sighted statesmen is growing less every day. The Indians are no doubt badly off, but the condition of the ruling country does not seem to be very good. Power of purse is no power at all. The power of mind is all essential.

75. Referring to the enormous increase in the Excise revenue last year as stated in the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Gazette* of last Wednesday, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes :— SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The increase of Excise revenue in Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Government has repeatedly given the assurance that it will cause a decrease in the sale of intoxicants by raising their price. But what is the Government practically doing? In Eastern Bengal and Assam the Excise revenue is on the increase. The consumption of imported liqour in Mymensingh has greatly increased. Government is evidently much delighted at this, or it would never have announced it in the official Gazette. All true patriots should adopt constitutional means to drive out all kinds of intoxicants from the country.

76. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th November says that Babu Durga Charan Sanyal should be released on the occasion of the King-Emperor's Proclamation. SRI SRI VISHNU PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Babu Durga Charan Sanyal's case.

77. Referring to the case of Babu Durga Charan Sanyal, the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes :— SANJIVANI, Nov. 5th, 1908.

The case of Babu Durga Charan Sanyal.

In reply to the telegram addressed by Babu Ananda Chandra Roy of Dacca, praying for the release of Durga Charan Sanyal on the occasion of the King's Proclamation, the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam said:—

The question of extending mercy to Durga Charan Sanyal rests with the Government of Bengal.

But on the 5th Septemser last the Bengal Government said, in reply to the question of the Hon'ble Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, that it could do nothing in the matter without consulting the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government. So, here is a very curious spectacle—the two Governments referring to each other, yet no decision arrived at. How promptly important questions are being decided after the partition of Bengal!

78. Referring to the statement elicited by Babu Ananda Chandra Roy of Dacca, that Durga Charan Sanyal's release rested with the Government of Bengal and not with the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 6th November asks if old Durga Charan is not to be released after all. HITAVADI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The case of Durga Charan Sanyal.

79. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipore] of the 7th November hopes that Government will be pleased to consider favourably the prayer of the Bengalis who have been soliciting Government for the release of the old Babu Durga Charan Sanyal in honour of the 50th anniversary of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown. BIHAR BANDHU, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Prayer for the release of Babu Durga Charan Sanyal.

80. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes :— BANGAVASI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The case of Durga Charan Sanyal.

A good many prisoners were released on the 2nd November by order of the King. How is it then that in the case of old Durga Charan two Lieutenant-Governors do in this manner wink at each other with a solemn smile?

81. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th November suggests that His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser should earn on the eve of his departure from this country the gratitude and blessing of the Indian community by extending his mercy to the convict Satyendra Nath Bose, who fully deserves it. SRI SRI VISHNU PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Satyendra Nath Bose's prayer for mercy.

82. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 6th November hopes that, apart from the fact that there is some doubt about Satyendra's guilt, it is to be hoped that he should have the benefit of the King's Proclamation and get his sentence commuted. DAINIK CHANDRIKA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The case of Satyendra Nath Bose.

83. The *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 7th November will be glad to see the life of Satyendra Nath Bose, who has been sentenced to death in connection with the Alipore murder case, spared by the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of the Emperor's Proclamation. HINDUSTHAN, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Satyendra Nath Bose of the Alipore Jail murder case.

DAILY HITAVADI, Nov. 8th, 1908.

The case of Satyendra Nath Bose.

84. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th Novembe hopes that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will not on the eve of his departure lose the opportunity of showing his greatness of heart by commuting the sentence on Satyendra Nath Bose.

BANGAVASI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The case of Leakat Hossain.

85. In referring to Dr. Rutherford's recent question in Parliament regarding special treatment for political prisoners on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation and Lord Morley's reply thereto, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November asks :—Why have not the eyes of the authorities fallen on old Moulvi Leakat Hossein ?

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The forth-coming marriage of Lady Violet Elliott.

86. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 6th November deprecates the idea, if any such really exists, of making the forthcoming marriage of Lady Violet Elliott at Calcutta the occasion of a formal Darbar. The present is a time of great financial difficulty in India and while the Viceroy is welcome to order private rejoicings on any scale of magnificence, official expenditure or a Darbar is to be deprecated just now.

ANUSILAN, Nov. 6th, 1908.

Dr. Mukerjee and a membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

87. Referring to the rumour that it is proposed to make Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Anusilan* [Calcutta] of the 6th November insinuates that this is the effect of Dr. Mukerjee's posing as a social reformer on the occasion of his widowed daughter's re-marriage. No one, says the writer, will, however, be more sorry than we if Dr. Mukerjee does not get a seat on the Council.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mukerjee as Education Member.

88. It is reported, writes the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November, that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mukerjee, who has twice got the degree of "Doctor," will be appointed to be the Education Member to the Government of India. Considering the ideas about education which Dr. Mukerjee has, we have no hope of any good being done to the country by his appointment to this post.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Demonstrations in honour of Sir Andrew Fraser.

89. In connexion with the recent demonstration in honour of Sir Andrew Fraser at Darjeeling, and with similar proposed demonstrations in Bihar, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 7th November remarks:—

Considering that Sir B. Fuller did not lack farewell addresses when retiring it is only natural that Sir Andrew Fraser should be cordially fêted on the occasion of his departure. But as far as the people of the country in general are concerned, they will not be able to view His Honour's retirement with equanimity, remembering his inaptitude and his defiance of public opinion.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Farewell address to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor at Darjeeling.

90. Referring to the farewell address presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal at Darjeeling, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November writes:—

The address appears to have been presented to His Honour, because he appointed Mr. K. G. Gupta to be the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. S. P. Sinha to be the Advocate-General, Bengal. We may say, in reply, that the eight crores of the people of Bengal do not think that they have got the highest of earthly blessings, simply because two of them have been elevated to high posts under the Government. The presenters of the address say, that the Lieutenant-Governor has by his good government given satisfaction to the people of Bengal, and the future will judge of its excellence. Sir Andrew Fraser is a kind-hearted official, and no one can have anything to say against him as a private individual. But if the truth must be told, he has failed to earn the love of the people as an administrator. What with the Civilian clique into whose hands he played and the "present policy of the Government," Sir Andrew's administration of Bengal has been a dismal failure. He had no knowledge of Bengal and its people before he took up the reins of the administration of this Province in the evening of his life; for he had spent the whole of his career outside Bengal. Coming as he did into a strange place,

the strong force of new ideas which he had to face all on a sudden made him look up to the Civilian clique for help. The result has been that the entire Province has been set ablaze. All this is the outcome of his inexperience and the weakness of his nature. Besides, the one or two mean-minded Bengalis in whom he has placed his trust, taking them to be the leaders of the people, have deceived him. He has not, therefore, been able to feel the pulse of the people, and hence his administration teems with so many blunders. We are sincerely sorry for the failure into which he has been unwillingly dragged. But it would be idle to hide that regret under a veneer of false and fulsome flattery.

Abolition of four-anna telegrams.

91. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November does not approve of the abolition of four-anna telegrams. The Government, says the paper, is free to do what it chooses, but it would certainly have not become bankrupt if it had consented to suffer some loss for the sake of the poor people of India, considering that India's money is always spent quite lavishly.

BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Magisterial order for the supply of *rasad* to the troops stationed at Champaran.

92. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th November quotes the notice issued by Mr. Tanner, Subdivisional Officer, for the supply of *rasad* to the troops stationed at Champaran, and says:—

DAILY HITAVADI, Nov. 8th, 1908.

Basudev Tewari, a Brahmin, has been ordered to supply *rasad* to the troops. It is well known how distasteful such a task must be to a Brahman. The villagers are in a starving condition, and it may be imagined how miserably they are faring just now. The rumour goes that the troops are extorting money from the villagers. Should not the authorities save the villagers from their troubles?

The question of appointing Indians in the Agricultural Department.

93. The Director of Agriculture in Bengal, writes the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th November, has said that there is a total want of able men among the Indians who can be given high posts in the Agricultural Department. Ninety per cent. of the people of this country live by agriculture. Besides this, there are men like Ambika Charan Sen, Girish Chandra Basu, Atul Krisna Roy, D. N. Roy, D. N. Mukerjee and Srinath Dutta, who have received agricultural education in England, and have acquitted themselves very creditably in whatever work they have been given in the Agriculutural Department. And you, Mr. Gourlay, Director of the Department, what fitness have you got for the Department? But, of course, you belong to the ruling race, and so can, with propriety, say anything you like.

SANDHYA, Nov. 9th, 1908.

III.—LEGISLATION.

The proposed Endowments Trust Bill.

94. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th November says that in a mass meeting of Gosains and Sanyasis held at Hariharchhatra in Sonepur a resolution was passed condemning the proposed Endowments Trust Bill of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh. It is hoped that in these troublous times the authorities will desist from interfering with religious institutions.

SANDHYA, Nov. 10th, 1908

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, K.C.S.I.

95. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 5th November writes that the Maharaja of Jodhpur has humiliated himself by accepting, even though it was at the hands of the Viceroy himself, the inferior honour of a K.C.S.I., when a G.C.S.I. is the usual decoration for Princes of his status.

SANDHYA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Native Princes in the Advisory Council.

96. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 6th November says, that if Native Princes consent to sit on the proposed Advisory Council, their status as friendly Chiefs will be gone, and they will come down to the same level as the subjects in British India.

SANDHYA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

Hitvarta, Oct. 29th, 1908.

Apprehensions from the throw-downs.

97. Referring to the proposal of the *Englishman* to prohibit the preperation of the throw-downs, seeing that with a slight alteration in their composition they become dangerous, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October dares not saying anything for the sake of its dear life, as in its opinion one should now-a-days sit down quietly, and mark the changes going on around him.

Hitvarta, Oct. 29th, 1908.

The mad policy of repression.

98. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October has published an article entitled "Is this statesmanship?" from which the following extracts are taken:—

Repressive measures taken by Government to put down the growing discontent in the country have served to increase it the more. But it is surprising to find that Government is not as yet inclined to believe the mischief its policy has wrought. Is this obstinecy then an act of statesmanship?

The conduct of the officials prohibiting meetings to be held in the evening of the anniversary of the Partition Day has added still more to the discontent in the country, and caused pain to even the most loyal subjects. The policy of the officials was the subject of talk in every household; even Bengali ladies in their houses began to criticise it after finishing their domestic duties. To prohibit the meeting has therefore been bad for the Government.

As a matter of fact, people are not so much excited by the inflamatory speeches of the leaders or the writings in the newspapers, as they are by the action of the Government; but Government would not understand it. From Lord Morley down to the humblest officials, every one is trying to remove the unrest in the country, but no one stops to think how far the measures devised by these statesmen are likely to be successful. The result is that the unrest is ever increasing. Has the Government ascertained the cause that has led the people to adopt boycott so much this year. If it had done so, it would have easily found out the dire consequences of its repressive measures.

Government is not so stupid as to think that it can carry on its administration with this repressive policy. Hence we hear of reforms side by side with prosecutions and punishments. Let our Anglo-Indian contemporaries say what they may, we hold that so long as the partition of Bengal is not undone, there can be no likelihood of unrest ceasing in the country. Government is however so sensitive about its prestige that it will not undo what it admits to be wrong. The repressive measures might have done in an uncivilised country, but it can never succeed in India. We are at a loss to make out why Government though convinced should yet be feigning its inability to see the truth.

The folly of the measures has been admitted and would have been long corrected, but for the fact that a greater value is now-a-days attached to official obstinacy than to the real good of the people. Is it not then madness to coax the Indians by sweet words or try to frighten them by reddened eyes.

We have not yet forgotten the laugh raised on all sides when the boycott movement was first started. Those who now ask us to give up the movement, far from sympathising with us at the time, tried to dishearten us in our undertaking. The boycott is now steadily on the field. The imminent ruin of Manchester manufactories has now led the officials to pursuade us to give up the boycott movement, while still they refuse to redress the wrong which led us to adopt the only weapon left to us after every other means had failed.

From Lord Morley down to the lowest official every one is threatening us with a severe rule, but we have long lost the fear of it. So long as we do not trespass the law, we have no fear. If Government does not bend, we are also as determined as ever. If on the other hand Government give up its obstinacy and look to the welfare of the people. we shall be glad to shower handful of flowers out of gratefulness and devotion upon its feet.

Who ever dreamt that the Bengali lads would prefer punishment to giving up their determination. Government had thought that with the removal of political leaders. the agitation in the country would cease. The leaders are far off from the people, but boycott is going on unabated. The removal of Tilak has achieved a hundred times what his presence could have done. Policy like the present has been agitating the minds of the people more and more. Still the

officials are not giving up their present policy, nor are they paying the least attention to the solution of the difficult problem.

Freedom of speech and writing in India.

99. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Buchanan's reply to the question asked by Mr. Lupton regarding the existence of free speech and free press in India, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 7th November says:— BASUMATI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

We fail to see how the Hon'ble Mr. Buchanan could say that freedom of speech and freedom of the Press still exist in this country, in spite of the recent legislation to throttle both of them. The wording of the new Newspapers Act gives it an admirable elasticity, and enables it to be applied to any case. In no other country in the world are writings, such as those for which nemerous Indian journalists are being severely punished, considered to be seditious at all. Besides, what is sedition for us is overlooked in the case of white journalists. Freedom of speech and writing does not now exist in this country. The new legislation has struck the leaders of the people dumb and put a curb on newspapers. What should journalists do in these circumstances? Let the rulers tell them how they are to perform their function as spokesmen of the public. We would respectfully suggest that the Government should establish a censorship as they have in Russia, so that the journalists may be free from their responsibilities and care, the Government may have peace, the jails may be quiet, and the police may have some respite.

A warning.

100. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October has a *swadeshi* song by one signing himself G. N. Sarma, from which the following is translated:— HITVARTA, Oct. 27th, 1908.

Just see the tactics of the *Manchesterwallas*: to destroy the indigenous trade they have made a wholesale reduction in the price of cloth to one-half its normal price; in this way when your trade is destroyed, they will charge you four times the actual price of their cloth.

Oh, ye Indians! if you mean well of India, stick fast to your *swadeshi* vow, for this is your last trial. See that you stand fast, and do no not fall into a pit.

Foreign goods as carrying on malaria with them.

101. Speaking of the outbreak of malaria in Cawnpur, as well as in Lahore, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 29th October says, that it has been informed by an insane friend that malaria has been caused by people's adhering to foreign goods. The scourge has disappeared from Bengal, as the Bengalis have ceased to have anything to do with these goods. HITVARTA, Oct. 29th, 1908.

Proposal for the Marwari Union.

102. The *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 30th October has an article on unity, without which, it says, the Marwaris of Calcutta are unable to obtain contracts from English merchants here on more advantageous terms than at present, and cites the agitation of the European community against the site of the Victoria Memorial Hall proposed by Lord Curzon, who too had to yield to the combined protest of his countrymen to show what unity can achieve. MARWARI, Oct. 30th, 1908.

A warning.

103. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November has the following on self-reliance and boycott:— HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

To him whom self-reliance is not dear,
To him who loves service of others,
Heaven befriends them not.
Wake even now from your slumber.
Alas! give up the foreign thing, thy enemy, even now,
Fly from it a hundred miles knowing its touch a sin.
You are ruining yourself by shuting your eyes to what is good for you.
Awake!
Why like foreign things?
Can they be had for nothing?
A thousand fie to you, that you should be still slumbering.
O! ye helpless, poor India!
Reliance on others is unworthy,
May the Mother goddess, the giver of all happiness,
Destroy your subjection to others.

SANDHYA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

"A jackdaw in the feathers of the peacock."

104. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 5th November denies that the following extract which appeared in the *Englishman* of the 3rd idem, over the signature of Mr. S. S. Bose, as part of the remarks of the former journal on the King's Message, viz :—

"A king can cheat us thrice, but not a fourth time, with words meant for children, as it were," correctly represents what it said. Its actual words literally rendered into English would be "Having been cheated twice or thrice by what the English have said, having been cut to the quick repeatedly by the conduct of the English, one does not feel inclined any longer to put faith in anything the English say."

Thus there is no mention of the king at all in the original.

HITVARTA, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Greediness of the English.

105. Commenting on the grief of the Englishman to see the publication of the "Sociologist" in England, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 5th November observes that the English are capable of doing anything for the sake of money. If they could supply arms to the Boers during the Boer War, there is nothing to wonder at if this paper is published in England.

JASOHAR, Nov. 5th, 1908.

Young men's devotion to duty.

106. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 5th November urges the young men of the country to be inspired by the example of the great men and nations of old in the matter of devotion to duty. To-day Mother India is calling on them to take on themselves the heavy burden of duty. It is really a happy day for the long-sleeping and miserable Indian youths. Want of strength and want of pecuniary resources need not frighten them. What is needed of them is self-sacrifice in the performance of duty, and the ability to say like Nelson, even in death: "Thank God, I have done my duty." Let them acquire manliness and the future will become clear to them. It will no longer be necessary for them to sacrifice their self-respect and cringe at the feet of others.

SANDHYA, Nov. 6th, 1908.

The Congress.

107. The Congress people, writes the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 6th November, seem to be anxious to prolong the existence of the Congress simply for the sake of the pleasure which they will enjoy from the quarrel which it is likely to give rise to. What is the good of holding the Congress any more? You have during these three years known the English very fully, and have known your own countrymen, high and low, for what they are. Why then make such a fuss over the Congress? Profit by the lessons you have learnt under the tutorship of the English, and let us see if you can apply any of them to a practical purpose; and then beg of the English for something new. For the present we cannot have the face to beg for anything new. You have taken to the *swadeshi* and the boycott. Well, succeed in these first, let the use of foreign goods be stopped in this country altogether, and then have the Congress again.

The Moderates are trying to hold the Congress at Madras, while an Extremist Congress is proposed to be held at Nagpur. The Madras people have resolved to keep the boycott out of their propaganda, whereas the men at Nagpur declare that they advocate *swaraj*, and that the Congress should decide upon the means by which this can be obtained. What then is the best course to take? We should think that the Congress should be abolished altogether, for this sort of child's play connot last much longer. The Bengali is sure to be the first to leave the Congress, just as he was the first to get into it. There are not likely to be many people who will care to sign the bond of servitude and take part in the Convention or the Congress. It is better to be loyal to the English than to be a Moderate Congressite. It is far more desirable to drop down into Hell, than to live in Heaven like Trisanku*. The Congress is not to be endured any more.

* A mythical king, who was stopped midway while going up to Heaven and remained there, being unable either to enter into Heaven or to fall into Hell.

BIHAR BANDHU, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Moderate members of the Congress.

108. Speaking of the Congress which is to meet at Madras under the Allahabad Convention, the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipore] of the 7th November reads the following sermon to the Moderate party:—

During these hard times, internal disputes are calculated to make their outside enemies laugh at them. If those who call themselves Moderates even

now turn their attention to their sacred duties, much mischief may yet be avoided. If they do find themselves in a position to make further progress, they ought at least to stick to the position they had arrived at the Calcutta Congress. Giving up the habit of begging, they should keep their Congress alive by keeping the principle of self-reliance before their eyes. They should in this way preserve the honour of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji under whose presidentship a constitution for the Congress was formed, and save it from being altogether destroyed.

BANGAVASI, Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Maharaja of Benares on Indian political problems.

109. Referring to the Maharaja of Benares's recent letter to the *Times* on Indian political problems, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th November remarks:—

The Maharaja by his writing has shown himself a typical representative of the times and of the country he is living in. But in spite of all he may say and do, he has not been and will not be able to attain the coveted status of a Feudatory Prince.

BHARAT MITRA, Nov. 7th, 1908.

Society for the medical help of sick destitutes at Bhera.

110. In welcoming the efforts of a few persons who have formed themselves into a society for offering help to the sick destitutes at Bhera, in the Punjab, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 7th November observes, that if the example were followed in towns and villages, it would, besides affording help to the poor, pave the way for unity which is so much desired in the country.

SANDHYA, Nov. 10th, 1908.

What is the Gita, and who can read it.

111. The Srimad Bhagabad Gita, writes the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th November, has, to our misfortune, been placed in the same category as bombs and fire-arms. Its name is mentioned along with bombs in search reports of the Police. But what is the Gita and who have the right to deal with it? In it Sir Bhagaban (Sri Krishna) himself is the speaker, and Arjuna the hearer, and it was uttered in order to dispel the dark delusion which had come over the latter. Have we any right to discuss the Gita? Does it come within our province? We who are conquered and dependent, charmed with the glare of the conquerors' wealth, fallen from our customs, usages, religious practices and even civility, incapable in body and emaciated by sorrows and starvation, given only to learning a foreign tongue by rote, short-lived, undisciplined and fond ef imitation, have we any right to read and think of what Arjuna heard from Bhagaban. Our *Shastras* are nowhere whimsical; they contain eternal truths. One must make oneself fit for the study of the Gita by practising austerities and renouncing all mundane attachments. Death is not a very serious thing for us, dependent wretches. We die by lakhs of disease and distress. But it cannot be said that because we can die or know how to die, we have mastered the Gita. In our condition it is those who can live that are heroes. Fortitude is in many cases a sign of heroism, and not of cowardice. Even Arjuna had to practice severe austerities before he could hear the Gita. And for us, degraded Indians, to speak of the Gita as coming within our province is sheer impudence. Be men and make men of others. Devote yourselves to the service of the society. Remove the lethargy of the mind, body and intellect. Draw the Hindu society with all its virtues and vices to your heart. And then all dirt will be removed, and again the charioteer of Arjuna (Krishna) will come to your chariot and loudly proclaim:—"If even a wicked man worships me with a singleness of purpose, he is to be considered a good man, for he is firm in his purpose."

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,
Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 14th November, 1908.

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REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 14th November 1908.

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II.—Home Administration.

(a)—*Police.*

1157. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* cannot sufficiently admire the self-restraint displayed by the raiyats in the Bettiah subdivision, who are in trouble for refusing to sow indigo. Their chief representative, Sital Roy, was arrested the other day, and some four thousand raiyats followed him to Bettiah where he was put in the lock-up. But after thus showing their sympathy for their spokesman, they quietly dispersed and returned to their homes. In the whole world no parallel can be found to such wonderful law-abidingness on the part of ignorant rustics, who are labouring under a sense of grievous wrong and injustice.

Raiyats in the Bettiah subdivision.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7th Nov. 1908.

"The details of distress furnished by our correspondent would pierce a heart of adamant! The agriculturists, in those parts, at the best of times, lead a hand-to-mouth life. In these days of scarcity the day's earnings rarely suffice for the day's most pressing needs. But now that a large number of the bread-winners has been shut up in *hajut*, it can be imagined what untold privations their families must be undergoing. Then, it can be realised in what constant terror the unfortunate people must be living, with the military and civil police, punitive as well as ordinary, being posted all over the area. What have they done, we ask again, to deserve all this? They simply appealed to the paternal Government to protect them from, what they represented to be, the ruinous contracts sought to be imposed upon them by the planters. They most earnestly implored Government to institute an enquiry as to the truth or otherwise of their complaints. They refused in a body, it is true, to carry out the behests of the planters. But has not every subject the right to do what he considers to be to his interest to do? We cannot believe that the higher authorities have been led away by the false cry of anarchical influences being at work in the locality. Great mischief has already been done by the adoption of a sternly minatory and repressive attitude towards people who have proved themselves worthy of every kindness and consideration. And the gathering storm can be instantaneously quelled by granting the very reasonable prayer for an open enquiry, withholding all punitive measures in the meantime. What is there in the way of doing it?"

1158. Referring to the quartering of punitive police in the Bettiah subdivision, the *Bengalee* says:—

Bengalee, 7th Nov. 1908.

The punitive police in the Bettiah subdivision.

"The Government is adopting the fatal course of sowing the seeds of unrest in this part of Bihar. To lend a deaf ear to the prayers of a people who complain of oppressive proceedings and then to punish them, as they will infallibly say, for attempting to assert their lawful rights, is a proceeding disastrous to the good name of Government and is fraught with mischievous consequences. The quartering of punitive police intensified the public discontent in East Bengal. It may produce a similar result in Bihar. But our rulers will never learn. People who believe themselves to be infallible are above all instruction."

(b)—*Working of the Courts.*

1159. Commenting on the release of the Midnapore prisoners, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says:—

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 10th Nov. 1908.

Release of the Midnapore prisoners.

"The Midnapore case is a living example of the adage that justice and truth must triumph in the end. Were not all the forces of an apparently irresistible bureaucracy harnessed for the purpose of crushing the gentry and aristocracy of Midnapore? Was not the entire machinery of the Government set in motion to turn the district upside down? But there is a higher Power before Whose will even Kings and Emperors must bow their heads. We wonder how those people who sought to encompass the ruin of the loyal and public-spirited Raja of Narajole and a number of educated men holding high social positions in their native district, will now show their faces in society."

The matter will not end with the discharge of the accused, for there is no doubt that these gentlemen, who have been prosecuted so pittilessly, will take shelter of the law to compensate themselves for the untold suffering to which they have been subjected.

BENGALEE, 7th Nov. 1908.

The judgment in *Bande Mataram* case.

1160. The *Bengalee* is sorry that it should be obliged to protest against some of the observations of Mr. Thornhill who is usually so discriminate and fair-minded. "It is a matter of public notoriety," says the Chief Presidency Magistrate, "that a conspiracy existed, the object of which was assassination." But this is exactly what has to be proved and what has not yet been proved. A matter of public notoriety (whatever it may be) is not a thing for judicial cognizance; and the journal regrets that Mr. Thornhill should have accepted as a fact, judicially proved, what only, according to him, is a matter of "public notoriety." Then he says that "there exists in Bengal a large number of what may be termed the discontented student class." Again the journal asks—what evidence is there for a sweeping general statement of this kind? Counsel often tell juries, and Judges repeat the warning, that they must forget all that they have heard outside and must confine themselves to the evidence. Is it necessary to administer a similar warning to the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta? In times of excitement especially, Judges and Magistrates should be careful not to be led away by extraneous impressions and ideas.

BENGALEE, 6th Nov. 1908.

The Midnapore affair.

1161. The *Bengalee* observes that the revelations made by Rakhal Chandra Laha, a witness for the prosecution in the Midnapore case, whether true or false, are of so startling a character that they are likely to form a subject of talk throughout the province for a long time to come. What adds to the interest of the affair is that the witness was put forward by the prosecution itself, and is one on whom it relied to a very great extent for proving its case. The very questions put to him by Mr. Sinha as well as the announcement made by the latter at the outset, that it would take him something like two days to finish this witness, can leave no doubt as to the importance they attached to his evidence. The fact that he had to be declared a hostile witness and made statements, not one of which could by any stretch of the imagination be held to be favourable to the prosecution, coupled with the statements themselves, will considerably strengthen the popular opinion that there was room for an enquiry into the methods of the investigation followed in this case. The spectacle was distinctly undignified, if not humiliating, and the journal is all the more sorry because it was the Advocate-General who represented the prosecution. "We do not know what steps will now be taken to test the truth or otherwise of the sensational statements made by the 'informer.' Something must, indeed, be done and that promptly, if the reputation of the Government is to be saved. If the witness be ultimately found to have spoken the truth—indeed, if even a part of the statements made by him are true—a complete overhauling of the police at Midnapore is what would seem to be imperative. And, indeed, it would not be possible to stop even there. On the other hand, if he has not spoken the truth, he must be proceeded against according to law the moment he has been set at liberty and allowed to go home. Amid much that is distinctly perplexing in this case, the one fact which inspires public confidence is that the learned Advocate-General has now been entrusted with the case. He, at any rate, will allow nothing illegal or irregular to be done. Is it too much to hope that he will advise the Bengal Government to hold an enquiry even now, so that the truth of the whole thing may be known? He can be entrusted with the enquiry himself. As a matter of fact, he will have to make some such enquiry on his own account, if only to satisfy his conscience, in view of what has appeared in the press from time to time and of the sensational disclosures made by Rakhal Chandra, the informer."

INDIAN EMPIRE, 3rd Nov. 1908.

The *Bande Mataram* confiscated.

1162. The *Indian Empire* is of opinion that the confiscation of the *Bande Mataram* Press emphasises the policy of repression, which the Government has been pursuing these few years. The law as it stands may be turned to any account by the police, who have only to apply to the Government for sanction under the Act and a paper is gone. The freedom of the Press has been almost brought to a nullity by the power and scope the new law has given to the

police and the executive. A Magistrate may consider any writing as an incitement. The sanction of the Government is not, as a matter of fact, difficult to obtain. It has only to be applied for. It is, therefore, only a theoretical check and exercises no influence on the conduct of the police. Regarded in this light the new Act is a veritable engine of oppression. It gives to Magistrates and the police a discretion which they are not competent to exercise. The proceedings against the *Bande Mataram* under the new Act have therefore struck terror in the minds of newspaper men.

(*h*)—*General.*

1163. Commenting on the King's message to the Princes and people of India on the anniversary of the Royal Proclamation of 1858. the *Indian Nation* writes:— INDIAN NATION, 9th Nov. 1908.

His Majesty's message.

"We cannot say that we are disappointed by King Edward's message to the Princes and people of India. Disappointment arises from ungratified hopes, and we had not pitched our hopes so high as to feel mortified by the declaration that has come. The declaration is in the first place called not a proclamation, or an announcement of principles or a policy, but a message. Secondly, it was not to be expected, having regard to English official procedure, that constitutional reforms now in contemplation would be set forth in this document. . . . "Those who had cherished expectations were destined to be disappointed. It would not have been in accordance with constitutional procedure for the King to have anticipated the action of Parliament, to have taken a matter out of its hands, and, on his own authority, to have promised particular reforms. Either for beneficence or repression the King could not take responsibility for measures or a policy to which the Parliament was not yet committed. In the next place, the fundamental principles of a generous administration, such as religious toleration, equality in the eye of the law, the openness of all appointments to moral and intellectual qualification, had already been announced in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. Nothing could be gained by a formal repetition of them, and it would be impossible to re-state them with an elegance, precision or force, surpassing or even equalling those merits of the original document. All that could be done was to express a general adherence to them and to point out that they had been steadily followed during the last fifty years. The main and operative announcements of the message we take to be two; first, that disloyal movements would be repressed with a stern hand; second that representative institutions would be developed and administration would be conducted with increased deference to popular opinion. Both these declarations have been made with befitting dignity, and the whole document breathes a kindly spirit and is couched in language of sympathy, for which we cannot but feel thankful and which augur well for the future administration of the country. Whoever may have drafted the message, the entire document bears the impress of the genial and benignant personality of King Edward VII."

1164. The more the *Hindoo Patriot* reads the Royal message, the more it is convinced of a deep note of sympathy and benignity pervading it throughout and the keen solicitude of His Majesty for the welfare of his Indian subjects. It has inspired the people with hope and encouragement, and is expected to exercise a most salutory effect on the unbiassed and well-balanced public opinion in this country. HINDOO PATRIOT, 6th Nov. 1908.

Ibid.

1165. The *Bengalee* understands that the appreciation of the gallantry and loyalty of the Indian troops will take the shape of an increase of pay and allowances. But this is not enough. It was time that distinguished Indian soldiers were admitted into the commissioned ranks of the army. France and Russia pursue this liberal policy in dealing with Asiatic and African soldiers in their service. The Indian soldiers have proved themselves to be among the bravest of the brave, and surely they should not suffer from any racial disqualification. BENGALEE, 6th Nov. 1908.

The Proclamation and Indian soldiers.

MUSSALMAN, 6th Nov. 1908.

1166. The *Mussalman* complains that the Royal Proclamation has disappointed all reasonable expectations, including even the most conservative expectations of the conservative Indian. The King's message raises no new hope, nor gives new assurances to the people and is a mere review of the past fifty years.

The Royal Proclamation.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 5th Nov. 1908.

1167. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says:—"It is a thousand pities that, even liberal-minded Ministers of the late Queen or the present King-Emperor should not be aware that many of their acts or measures instead of developing are only stifling feelings of loyalty in the Indian heart. It is always hard for a people to feel ardently for a monarch of different nationality. The ruling authorities here should, therefore, adopt exceptional means to enable the Indians to nourish this delicate sentiment in their mind. This is not done; on the other hand, many things are done which are likely to crush it. The very fact that the people have been disarmed and are not allowed to enter the Army shows that the rulers are not anxious to develop feeling of loyalty in their breasts. Are these relentless prosecutions for so-called sedition and the dreadful punishments meted out to political offenders making the people contented or discontented with British rule? Is there not a grim humour in the confiscation of the *Bande Mataram* Printing Press for no fault of its proprietors, just immediately after the King-Emperor's affectionate message to his Indian subjects? . . . . . Do not the rulers of India feel that they have conferred a lasting obligation on the Indians by condescending to govern them? This is perhaps how they argue: There was incessant strife in India in pre-British days; but they have given peace to the land and security to person and property. They have made the Indian a participator in the civilisation of the West—in its railway and telegraph systems, in its sciences and arts. The people of India should thus be happy with their lot and bless their rulers for the benefits they have received at their hands.

A "copy" of the late Queen's Proclamation.

"But do the Indians think exactly in the same way? Is the famine, plague, or malaria-stricken peasant happy? Is the persecuted, educated Indian content with the dreadful prospect before him? It is impossible for the rulers to inform themselves of the innermost thoughts that actuate the children of the soil, with starvation staring them in the face and the sword of Damocles in the shape of sedition laws and police rule hanging over their heads."

BENGALEE, 5th Nov. 1908.

1168. The *Bengalee* thinks it a pity that the Royal clemency has not so far been extended to Durga Charan Sanyal. That nothing should have been done even on so unusual an occasion as that of the anniversary of the Proclamation, is to say the least singularly unfortunate. The journal hopes it is not too late for the Government to release the poor old man.

The case of Durga Charan Sanyal.

HINDOO PATRIOT, 4th Nov. 1908.

1169. The *Hindoo Patriot* regards the message addressed by His Majesty the King to the Princes and peoples of India on the Fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Crown as an indication of His Majesty's deep interest in his Indian subjects. The message which breathes a spirit of sympathy and benevolence fully worthy of so great a Sovereign convinces the people of India that the fountain-head of the British Government bubbles over with love and good will towards them. It is hoped that the Reform Scheme alluded to will improve the progress of affairs. The Proclamation of 1858 and the grant of larger rights and liberties, following as it did an upheaval that well-nigh shook the foundations of the Empire, was a concession which acted as oil thrown on troubled waters, and it is hoped that a similar result will follow the Royal message that has just been delivered.

The King's message.

BENGALEE, 4th Nov. 1908.

1170. Although the *Bengalee* felt it necessary to say that the Proclamation has been received with a sense of disappointment by the Indian public, it has however a brighter side. "In tone and in temper it breathes sympathy and benignity. It were only to be wished that its sentiment and spirit were reflected in the proceedings of the members of the bureaucracy who direct the real Government of the country and come in daily contact with the people. The higher we mount the Olympic heights of Indian officialism, the purer

His Majesty's Proclamation.

becomes the atmosphere. But the great mass of the people have not the opportunity to rise to these heights. Their destinies are controlled and their happiness is determined by the subordinate members of the bureaucracy who are often singularly wanting in those qualities of tact and sympathy, so necessary in the case of those who wield authority of any kind. What is needed is a thorough change in the temper of the bureaucracy—an approximation, however distant, to the spirit and temper of His Gracious Majesty, as evidenced in this Proclamation. The change can be easily effected by rewarding really sympathetic officers and by adequately punishing those Bahadurs who trifle with popular sentiment and who, forgetting their position as the servants of the people, assume the airs of irresponsible princelings. * * * * There is admission in the Proclamation that errors have at times been committed. 'If errors have occurred,' says the Proclamation, 'the agents of the Government have spared no pains and self-sacrifice to correct them.' We venture to say that this observation cannot apply to the deplorable blunder of the partition. Here undoubtedly an error, one of the gravest that we can think of, has been committed by the agents of the Government. It is admitted to be an error on all hands; and yet it is held to be a settled fact, and nothing has been done to rectify it. We must say that it has been to us the people of Bengal a grave disappointment that the gracious Proclamation of the King-Emperor does not adumbrate any desire or intention on the part of the Government to modify the partition of Bengal."

Regarding the amnesty granted to prisoners, the journal trusts that those who have been punished for sedition, including Mr. Tilak and others, will be released, and that Durga Charan Sanyal will be restored to liberty. The grant of amnesty to prisoners suffering for their opinions will have a most salutory effect upon public opinion. The Proclamation does not enter into the details of the measures that are to be taken with regard to the expansion of repre- people's goal, sentative institutions, but the journal declares that Self-Government is the and what is wanted is that a definite and effective voice should be given to the representatives of the people over the finances and the executive administration.

Political prisoners.

1171. The *Bengalee* regards the reply of Lord Morley is that political prisoners would not be treated in any way as a special case, as disappointing as most of Lord Morley's replies in Parliament. Political prisoners do constitute a special class in the eye of society, and Lord Morley's refusal to treat them as such would not make them otherwise than they are. In such case clemency would undoubtedly teach restraint in the expression of opinion, even though the opinion itself may not undergo any alteration.

BENGALEE, 5th Nov. 1908.

British justice.

1172. The *Indian Empire* invites the serious attention of the Government of India to Mr. S. H. Swinny's criticism of the criminal administration in India. In an article published by the *Positivist Review*, he shows by an examination of the recent sedition cases in this country that the only effect of the heavy sentences passed in them is to "increase the amount of disaffection and substitute for open criticism all the horrors of conspiracy."

INDIAN EMPIRE, 3rd Nov. 1908.

There was a time, and not long ago, when the impartiality of British justice was a matter of faith. People had implicit faith in British judges. Nobody knows how far such belief was justified. But it is difficult to deny that it has begun to be seriously suspected that they are nothing more than ordinary mortals endowed with all the weakness of man. It is no longer believed, as it was once believed, that they can rise superior to considerations of race or colour. They have of late proved, on the contrary, more susceptible to these considerations than ordinary. In a case between a white man and an Indian, the latter does not generally confidently expect impartial justice, while in cases instituted by the Government, such as the sedition cases, conviction is regarded by the people as a foregone conclusion. Although the people have lost confidence in the *bonâ fides* of British justice and British benevolence, they never suggest a resistance to the established order of things except in a passive way. Thus they are smilingly going to jail by dozens as the result of challenging what they consider injustice and violation of their rights.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

Hindoo Patriot, 9th Nov. 1908.

1173. The *Hindoo Patriot* declares that the dastardly and abominable attempt that was made on Saturday evening last on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, as he was entering the Overtoun Hall in College Street, has sent a thrill of horror through the country which is shocked at the length to which the anarchist movement in Bengal has proceeded. Universal sympathy is felt for Sir Andrew, and all classes of the community will rejoice at his miraculous escape. His administration has always been conducted on sympathetic and righteous principles, and it is therefore unfortunate that such a man, for reasons best known to the anarchists, should be such an eyesore to them. This wicked attempt shows that the anarchists are not yet hunted out of their lair, and it is hoped that it will not be difficult to bring them to a speedy end. The conduct of Mr. Barber in grappling with the assailant is highly commended.

The attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life at the Overtoun Hall.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 9th Nov. 1908.

1174. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that the attempt made on Sir Andrew Fraser's life at the Overtoun Hall will evoke horror and indignation among the people as well as sympathy for His Honour. It is this kind of dastardly violence which, while it is calculated to rouse the worst passions of the rulers, places the Indian community in a most awkward position. The majority of those, who are engaged in such outrages, consist of half-educated lads, who have scarcely passed their teens. They have no position in society, and are reckless of their own lives as well as the lives of others being under the insane idea that it is a meritorious act to use bombs and revolvers. It was a great mistake on the part of the authorities to meddle with the boys in the way they did by issuing drastic circulars and punishing them like felons for breaches of discipline. This is not exactly the way to correct them. If they were left alone, we would perhaps never have heard of these boy-anarchists. The journal congratulate Sir Andrew Fraser on his escape.

Ibid.

Indian Mirror, 10th Nov. 1908.

1175. The *Indian Mirror* declares that the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life at the Overtoun Hall has surprised and startled the public, both European and Indian, to a degree which cannot be adequately expressed in words. The dastardly and audacious act can evoke but one feeling from the Indian public—that of unmitigated contempt for the miserable youth who sought a notoriety before which that of Khudiram Bose would have paled into insignificance. The Bengali community sympathise with His Honour as greatly as they abhor the dastardly outrage attempted on his person.

Ibid.

Bengalee, 10th Nov. 1908.

1176. The *Bengalee* declares that the feeling of the country is one of horror and indignation at the dreadful attempt which has been made on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser. Assassination is revolting to the Indian instinct, and it is not by such means that the public interests can be served. The community has had no part or share in this foul and dreadful transaction nor does it believe in assassination or violence of any kind. The journal congratulates Sir Andrew Fraser on his escape.

Ibid.

Office of the Inspr.-Genl. of Police, L. P., Writers' Buildings, *The 14th November 1908.*

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